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Michigan Influences upon the Formative Years of the Erie Canal

Ronald Shaw

MICHIGAN'S DEBT TO THE ERIE CANAL is familiar history. Emigrants, goods, customs, and faiths pulsed through "Clinton's Ditch" in a bustling stream to set the patterns to society in Michigan. But no less significant is the influence of the Michigan wilderness on the Erie Canal.¹

The building of the Erie Canal evoked both fervent support and partisan opposition. It grew out of the vision of men such as Gouverneur Morris, Jesse Hawley, Peter B. Porter, Elkanah Watson and DeWitt Clinton. They, with a number of others, saw the unique opportunity to channel the wealth of the interior through the Mohawk gap in the Appalachian chain to the Hudson River. At the same time, the canal was planned, constructed, and enlarged over constant opposition from a considerable portion of the New York electorate. Many opposed the canal on political grounds. Some agreed with Jefferson, who thought the project visionary and chimerical, that the canal was at least a century in advance of its age.² There were skeptics, too, like the old man who scoffed at the canal laborers by saying "You can dig the Canal all right but you can never make water run up hill."³

The Erie Canal became reality after Yankee ingenuity and Irish sweat subdued a tenacious wilderness. A ribbon of water 363 miles long stretched from Lake Erie to Albany in the fall of 1825. Eighty-three locks were built to serve this busy canal, and its great succession of aqueducts became the marvels of the day. Dormant resources took life and almost immediately demands were heard for a larger canal—demands which were met only partially until the completion

¹This paper with minor revisions was read before the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Literature at its April 12, 1952 meeting, and also before the Algonquin Club in Windsor, November 7, 1952. Editor.

²David Hosack, *Memoir of DeWitt Clinton*, Appendix, 347-48 (New York, 1829).

³[H[orace] P. Marsh, *Rochester and Its Early Canal Days*, 5 (Rochester, 1914).

of the enlargement program in 1862. Always in the story of this uneven growth was the pull of the West in which Michigan played so large a part.

New York canallers were already Michigan conscious when the canalboat *Detroit* arrived at Buffalo, October 26, 1825, the same day that the *Benjamin Wright* became the first boat to travel up the Grand Canal from Albany. Three days later the canalboat *Hiram* arrived from Lake Champlain to deposit fifty emigrants "bound for Michigan."⁴ The great flood was on. The westward passage of these emigrants across Buffalo wharves symbolized the closeness of relationships between the lands at the two extremities of Lake Erie.

The people of western New York, who believed they stood to gain most from the Erie Canal, had much in common with the people of Michigan, for the canal joined both to a more populous East. Both were compelled to think in terms of water communications when they charted their way through the "Western World"; both lived in conditions of comparative wilderness. Buffalo contained but 653 more citizens than Detroit in 1820 and Rochesterville, eighty miles to the east, could boast a population of only 1502.⁵ Although a comparison of county figures shows considerably heavier population in western New York than was to be found in any part of Michigan, frontier conditions prevailed in both areas. Zerah Hawley visited Buffalo in 1821 and noted the stumps of trees standing "thick in the highway till you enter the very streets of the village."⁶ During the same year, an early devotee of the Grand Tour to Niagara observed in the dense forests between Buffalo and the Falls only an occasional clearing "where a rude cabin is erecting—while the household furniture consisting of a bed, kettle, and chest were strewn upon the ground around it."⁷ Red Jacket and his Seneca brethren, colorfully dressed in long frock coats with bright red sashes about their waists, lounged in the streets of Buffalo. Life at the eastern end of Lake Erie could have been but little different from that in the settlements

⁴Buffalo *Emporium*, October 29, November 5, 1825.

⁵*Census of 1820*, 11, 41 (Washington, D.C., 1821).

⁶Zerah Hawley, *A Journal of a Tour through . . . New York . . .*, 20 (New Haven, 1822).

⁷*Journal of a Trip to Niagara*, 1822, in the Rush Rhees Library at the University of Rochester.

immediately across the western waters when the first shovelful of earth was turned in 1817 to begin the Erie Canal.

In spite of this paucity of settlement, economic and social ties across this wilderness were remarkably close. The Erie Canal followed as well as preceded Michigan consciousness in New York. It took shape out of the interest of influential New Yorkers who were well acquainted with the potential richness of the Michigan Territory and other sections of the old Northwest. Two examples suggest the keenness of this interest in Michigan development long before the completion of the "Big Ditch" in 1825. The affairs of Peter B. Porter of Black Rock and Elkanah Watson of Albany spanned from Michigan to the canal system of New York.

Peter B. Porter of Black Rock, which was situated three miles down the Niagara River from Lake Erie, rivaled any man for prominence in western New York in the early part of the nineteenth century. He was a War Hawk in Congress before the War of 1812, a military leader on the Canadian frontier during that war, and later secretary of war under John Quincy Adams. He also had commercial interests in Michigan which influenced the bitter competition between Black Rock and Buffalo for the western terminus of the Erie Canal.

With his brother, Augustus Porter, Peter B. Porter was engaged in supplying the military posts at Detroit and Michilimackinac as early as 1809.⁸ David Beard and others, who were agents of the two brothers, sold beef, flour, whiskey, and other imported necessities of civilized life to troops, citizens, and Indians throughout the War of 1812. Meanwhile Porter was a prominent figure in the early stirrings of the canal project in New York. In 1810 while a representative in Congress, he introduced a bill for the "opening of canals from the Hudson to Lake Ontario and around the falls of the Niagara."⁹ The same year he was one of seven men appointed by the New York Legislature to explore the route of a canal to Lake

⁸David Beard to Peter B. Porter, April 26, May 9, 12, October 27, 1809, in the Peter A. Porter Collection of the Buffalo Historical Society; Charles Chalon, Deposition, December 7, 1813, in the Augustus Porter Papers in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library; David Beard to Reuben Atwater, June 10, 1812, in the William Woodbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection.

⁹Merwin S. Hawley, *Origin of the Erie Canal*, 34 (Buffalo, n.d.).

Erie. In 1811 the first canal law was passed to "provide for the Internal Navigation of the State." Porter, as one of the commissioners appointed under this law, shared in the planning of the canal until the passage of the Act of 1816, which foreshadowed the actual construction of the canal and created a new board of canal commissioners.¹⁰

General William Hull's surrender to the British in 1812 at Detroit brought severe loss to the investments of Peter B. and Augustus Porter, but in 1815, when "a state of starvation" among the troops and in the settlement raised the price of flour from \$5 to \$30 a barrel, Augustus noted the prospect of making "a handsome sum." He urged his brother to seek the provision contracts again for the Northwestern posts.¹¹ Furthermore, within a year the Porters had become interested in building a steamboat to ply the lake to Detroit.¹² It was an Albany company that launched the *Walk-in-the-Water* in 1818, but the Porters held the new boat's "agency and supply" at Black Rock. Augustus was delighted with the expected ability of the *Walk-in-the-Water* to carry a load against the wind and the rapids of the Niagara River. "This once effected," he wrote, "and Black Rock Harbour is at once established." His concern for the future of Black Rock harbor involved the question of the best terminus point for the Erie Canal, a question of paramount importance to many in western New York, and one which was coloring the politics of lawmakers in Albany.

Black Rock and Buffalo, scarcely separable today, were keen commercial rivals between 1817 and 1825 for the canal and lake trade. Although Buffalo citizens industriously removed the sand bar which had blocked the mouth of Buffalo Creek and the canal commissioners actually began the canal there in 1823, Porter was awarded a provisional contract for a more extensive harbor in the Niagara River at Black Rock.¹³ Ice, sand, wind, and waves soon took their toll of

¹⁰*Laws of the State of New York . . . in Relation to the Erie and Champlain Canals . . .*, 1:46, 70-71, 184-86 (Albany, 1825). (Cited hereafter as *Laws*.)

¹¹Augustus Porter to Peter B. Porter, December 4, 1815, in the Peter A. Porter Collection.

¹²Augustus Porter to Peter B. Porter, November 7, 1815, January 2, 30, 1818; R. Wooley to Peter B. Porter, January 11, 1816; Thomas Morris to Peter B. Porter, February 7, 1816; Sill Thompson & Co. to Peter B. Porter, January 19, 1818, in the Peter A. Porter Collection.

¹³*Laws*, 2:79, 95-96, 158.

his harbor installations, however, and in 1825 the canal was completed to Buffalo, where increased facilities were steadily developed. While the Porters' efforts aroused accusations of "monopoly" from the Buffalo press, their determination to secure the terminus point of the Erie Canal was due at least in part to the prospect of Michigan trade.

The *Superior*, succeeding the *Walk-in-the-Water*, which had gone aground the previous season, was in service in 1822. This vessel was owned exclusively in Albany and New York. The Porters continued with plans of their own for linking the Lake Erie trade with their harbor and the Erie Canal. In 1824 they proposed to certain investors in Detroit and other lake ports the operation of a line of steamboats "to ply between the head of canal navigation at Black Rock and Detroit . . . as soon as the water communication between Albany and this place should be so far completed as to render the undertaking profitable."¹⁴ Culminating years of anticipation, the Union Line Steamboat Company was finally organized in 1826.¹⁵ Many prominent Detroiters were among the shareholders; Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory, subscribed to five shares at \$100 each; James Abbott took five; and Barnabe Campau, one. The Porter family held forty-eight shares, easily a controlling block. Within two years, the *Superior*, *Pioneer*, *Chippewa*, *William Penn*, *Henry Clay*, and the *Enterprise* were in service between the Erie Canal and Michigan, operating now from both Buffalo and Black Rock.

Buffalo quickly outstripped her ambitious rival. The focal point of urban expansion was located on the Lake Erie shore rather than on the bank of the Niagara River. Nonetheless, the mushroom growth that came at the western end of the Erie Canal followed and was influenced by many years of commercial activity in Michigan by the Porter brothers of western New York.¹⁶

¹⁴Peter B. Porter and others to Rufus Reed and others, July 27, 1824; A. Dey to Peter B. Porter, September 10, Augustus Porter and others to Henry J. Hunt and others, September 25, 1824, in the Peter A. Porter Collection.

¹⁵Articles of Association forming the Union Line Steamboat Company of Lake Erie, August 21, 1826, in the Peter A. Porter Collection.

¹⁶Peter B. Porter was elected an honorary member of the Historical Society of Michigan in 1830. Henry Whiting to Peter B. Porter, June 1, 1830, in the Peter A. Porter Collection.

Elkanah Watson, a leading figure in eastern New York, was a canal enthusiast whose investments soon extended to Michigan. Already well known as a traveler and the founder of the county fair, Watson published in 1820 a history of the New York canals in which he emerged as the initial "projector of the canal policy" of New York State. He professed to have become Washington's "canal disciple," and to have conceived a plan of a canal to the Great Lakes in order to allure the trade of the West, "even the fur trade from Detroit," to the Hudson.¹⁷ His exertions as essayist and lobbyist did much to publicize the advantages of canal navigation. In 1792 he successfully promoted the inauguration of canals from the Mohawk River to Lakes Seneca and Ontario and in 1798 assisted in chartering a company to build a waterway around Niagara Falls. An intervening period took him to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, but when he returned to Albany in 1816, he already held Michigan investments.

Watson's daughter had married George B. Larned of Detroit, and the young couple were handsomely furnished by her father with silver, crystal, and mahogany sent to them from Albany. In 1815 and for a decade afterwards, Watson speculated heavily in Michigan lands; he purchased the \$4500 house of General Hull in Detroit and extensive property at Grand Marais and on the River Raisin.¹⁸ "Satisfied as I am that Detroit will not long be an exposed frontier," he wrote to his son-in-law in 1816, ". . . and with a prospect of a rapid advance of property—I contemplate not only to turn my whole strength into Michigan—but in sober earnest—to turn over myself and family there within 2 years."¹⁹

Although he made only a visit to Detroit in 1818, and his interest in canals tended to be more theoretical than practical, he remained an active proponent of both the New York canal system and the Michigan Territory. Almost a year before the digging of the Erie

¹⁷Elkanah Watson, *History of the . . . Western Canals in the State of New York . . .*, 8, 11, Appendix, 1 (Albany, 1820).

¹⁸William Hull to Elkanah Watson, August 21, 1815; Elkanah Watson to William Woodbridge, December 22, 1819, in the William Woodbridge Papers; Charles Noble to Elkanah Watson, February 1, 1825, in the Elkanah Watson Papers in the Burton Historical Collection; Elkanah Watson to William Hull, May 7, 1817; William Hull to Harmanus Bleecker, January 2, 1823, in the William Hull Papers in the Burton Historical Collection.

¹⁹Elkanah Watson to George B. Larned, August 22, 1816, in the Charles Larned Papers in the Burton Historical Collection.

Canal was commenced and nine years before it was completed, he reported the beginnings of Michigan fever in New York: "You will be surpriz'd to find how strong the public mind is directed t'ward Detroit—Should light houses—steamboats—a good Harbour at Buffalo . . . and above all your New Road be form'd [in] another year the current of emigration will astonish you all."²⁰

We see again the coincidence of new opportunity in New York and Michigan as two brothers of the Dexter family in eastern New York were swept up in this age of national expansion. Simon Newton Dexter was a small merchant of Whitesboro, engaged in wagoning produce and merchandise between Utica and Albany when plans for the new waterway matured. Jumping at the new employment offered on the canal, he first secured contracts for digging a portion of the "Big Ditch" and then in 1820 he became a principal stockholder and the treasurer of the Erie Canal Navigation Company, the first packet-boat company to go into operation.

At the same time, Samuel W. Dexter followed his fortune to Michigan. Settling on the Huron River in 1824, he founded the town of Dexter, laid out plans for Saginaw City, and in 1829 founded with John Allen the *Western Emigrant* in Ann Arbor, the first newspaper in Washtenaw County. While Simon Newton Dexter profited from the expanding packet trade on the canal, his brother reminded him of the riches of the new lands far down the western waterways.

I have much to say of this country, but no room to tell it now; 'tis a strange place different from any new land that I have seen, and better—the interior of Michigan is delightful—a mixture of prairies, oak openings, and woodland, abounding in clean streams, fine lakes, and cold springs. It is a rolling country well adapted to good roads, and admirably situated for conveying its produce to market. I will show you my villages; Denton, named after father, and Byron after the Poet, . . . But I must stop; if I once launch fairly into the praises of Michigan, I shall never end.²¹

It would not seem unreasonable to assume that such reports from Michigan had influence upon Simon Newton Dexter's canal investments in New York.

²⁰Elkanah Watson to George B. Larned, September 6, 1816, in the Charles Larned Papers.

²¹Samuel W. Dexter to Simon Newton Dexter, August 26, 1825, in the Simon Newton Dexter Papers in the Regional History Collection of the Cornell University Library.

The Erie Canal made possible the great migrations which peopled the American interior, but here too, the mark of Michigan was put upon the Erie Canal. Emigrants heading west through New York deposited some share of their meagre fortunes in the pockets of merchant, innkeeper, and boat captain—if they were not royally fleeced—and more than this, they changed the lives of those who watched them pass. New York itself was caught in the westward-moving stream and led on by the lure of the Michigan “El Dorado.”

A correspondent of the *Genesee Farmer* writing in 1833 from Buffalo presents a lively picture of the process which gave the Erie Canal life and populated Michigan.

Never before has there been such a crowd of emigration to “the great west,” as during this spring. It seems as though the whole eastern country was pouring out its millions for Ohio and Michigan. Ever since the 20th of April two large steam boats have left Buffalo daily for Cleveland and Detroit, and every boat, together with all the schooners, . . . [is] literally packed down and overrun with passengers, goods, chattels, wares and merchandise; so much so, that in some instances passengers have been literally *pushed ashore*, to prevent the boat from being overladen. . . . What a country must there be at the west; and how fertile its soil; and how mild its climate to invite such a rush of inhabitants into its bosom!²²

Our correspondent leaves this record of the frontier process that was transforming New York through the opportunities of canal travel.

I often think, while standing on the wharf at Buffalo . . . with what a thrilling interest I used to . . . listen [in Massachusetts] to the tales of wonder about the “Genesees” from those great travelers who had explored that distant country. And I well recollect, too, how all the neighborhood used to congregate about the house of a family who were “going to start” on their emigration to the “Genesee Country” or to the “Scioto.” How their friends and relatives hung around them, and with tears and sighs of despair of ever seeing them again in this world, bid them adieu for ever. And here I am, a resident, standing on the very Ultima Thule of emigration, and witness families embark to go a thousand miles beyond us, into a new, yet partially settled country, with expectations of coming back again in three or four years at farthest, to see their friends in Maine, seven or eight hundred miles east of us; and all the way by water!²³

Geneseans of western New York joined this hustling stream, even

²²Rochester *Daily Advertiser*, May 15, 1833. For similar descriptions see the Buffalo *Gazette*, February 18, 1817, and the Rochester *Daily Advertiser*, June 9, 1832.

²³Rochester *Daily Advertiser*, May 15, 1833.

though the country they left behind was prosperous, uncrowded, and beautiful. One Mr. Kemp, only five years from England in 1830 and owner of a comfortable six hundred acre farm bordering the Genesee River about thirty miles south of the Erie Canal, expressed but one complaint with the Genesee Country. His major difficulty lay in keeping his servants from going to Michigan, which he called "the El Dorado of agricultural emigrants from both sides of the Atlantic."²⁴

This New York migration even caused initial complaint in certain areas that canal lands did not rise in value as rapidly as had been expected. With the money that landowners could obtain for one acre on the canal in New York, they could purchase five or six acres of land equally good in Michigan Territory; and with the cost of transportation from Michigan to eastern markets so inconsiderable, the prices they received for their produce in the West would be very nearly equal to those they had received in New York.²⁵ Often well-improved lands were left behind for the lure of the new. John Fowler, traveling through the Genesee Country in 1830, observed large areas still uncleared, but also "passed over some very eligible farms." He noted one of these prosperous canalside farms about to be abandoned in favor of a newer West:

About a mile to the south of Pittsford . . . a farm was pointed out to me, now offering for sale by a gentleman whose family are settling in *Michigan*, where population is much on the increase. It consists of three hundred acres of land, the quality of the soil, varying between sand and loam; is well-timbered, well-fenced, and has a good house and out-buildings upon it. The price asked is thirty-five dollars per acre, but I have no idea that ten dollars less would be refused.²⁶

But more than restlessness and ease of travel led people to Michigan; there was the pull of a particular land.

New Yorkers went west to the tune of Yankee farmers praising the

²⁴Edward S. Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States* . . . , 1:279 (London, 1835).

²⁵Cadwallader D. Colden, *Memoir . . . of the New York Canals*, 87 (New York, 1825). Another author attested to the reasoning that sent men west: "The grand canal literally brings a market to every man's door. The cost at which produce can now be transported from Buffalo or from Detroit, to the City of New York, is so small, so little more than that paid by the Long Island or Jersey farmer, that it is fully remunerated by the advantage of a cheaper farm, and a more productive soil." *A View of the Grand Canal* . . . , 14 (New York, 1825).

²⁶John Fowler, *Journal of a Tour in the State of New York, in the Year 1830* . . . , 102-3 (London, 1831).

fabulous land of "Michigania." One verse tied the Erie Canal to the Yankee exodus:

Then there's the State of New York, where some are very rich;
 Themselves and a few others have dug a mighty ditch,
 To render it more easy for us to find the way,
 And sail upon the waters to Michigania, —
 Yea, yea, yea, to Michigania.²⁷

Those who lived along the Erie Canal in New York went to a unique land which offered both the challenge of untilled wilderness and the familiar evidences of things well known. Newcomers to Michigan could settle in canal towns which had moved west, such as Utica, Rome, Palmyra, Rochester, Clyde, Albion, New Buffalo, or a village bearing the name of the great Clinton himself. Almost a third of the population of Michigan in 1850 was New York born.²⁸ Lansing B. Swan of Rochester, New York, traveled from Detroit to Kalamazoo in 1841. He visited a former townsman in Genesee Prairie five miles from Kalamazoo. He found a copy of the Rochester *Democrat* at Niles, and in Ann Arbor listened to the Reverend Francis H. Cuming, formerly of St. Luke's Church, Rochester. At the same time he was pleased with the richness of the wild new land. He crossed fields, "a carpet of strawberries" all the way, gazed on rolling hills covered with "wild hay," and met farmers gathering wheat from land "level as a floor." "I do not wonder," he wrote home to his wife in Rochester, "that people are made crazy by coming to Michigan if what I have seen is a specimen of the country."²⁹

As the great exodus began, other New Yorkers waited expectantly for the wealth which would return from the Western cornucopia. Buffalo, "Queen of the Cities of the West," as Horatio G. Spafford's *Pocket Guide* proclaimed in 1824, seemed uniquely situated. "What those towns on the Hudson once were to the Western regions of this State," predicted the *Guide*, "Buffalo will soon be to the immense regions around the shores of the Lakes of the West. . . ."³⁰ Some

²⁷Quoted in Silas Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, 1:335-36 (Detroit, 1884).

²⁸James D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States . . . , Compendium of the Seventh Census . . .*, 40, 117 (Washington, D.C., 1854).

²⁹Lansing B. Swan, *Journal of a Trip to Michigan in 1841*, 17-18 (Rochester, 1904).

³⁰Horatio G. Spafford, *A Pocket Guide . . . along the Line of the Canals . . . of the State of New York*, 47-48 (New York, 1824).

were scared by their own figures. One protagonist of the Erie Canal calculated the surplus production of the region fifty miles inland from the shores of Lakes Erie, Michigan, and Huron, at two bushels of wheat per acre. This, he estimated, would make 128,000,000 bushels available to New York each year. He protested:

When circulation swells into millions the mind becomes bewildered, and mistrusts its own considerations; the magnitude of the subject operates inversely, and we dread most to promulge our opinions at the very moment we are most firmly persuaded of their certainty.³¹

"Clinton's folly" was all this and more to New York. Genesee wheat, which had sold in western New York for twenty-five cents before the building of the canal, now brought one dollar. Property valuations in New York State increased more than \$364,000,000 in thirteen years—an increase attributed largely to the influence of the canal.³² New York City real estate appreciated nearly \$128,000,000 between 1817 and 1841.³³ In Buffalo, a lot which had sold for \$800 in 1811 was valued at \$7000 in 1825.³⁴ The value of the commerce of Buffalo and Black Rock from lake and canal trade was estimated at \$40,000,000 in 1846.³⁵ Much of this early growth was due to the development of the resources of New York State, and of the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois in the west; but some measure of this windfall was identified with the fact that the Erie Canal led to Michigan.

As population increased in Michigan, especially after the six-fold growth between 1830 and 1840, Michigan contributed an ever larger portion of the produce entering the canal from the lakes. First to be deposited on the doorstep of the Erie Canal were furs. Cargoes valued as high as \$200,000 each made their way in 1826 down the

³¹A *Serious Appeal to the . . . Legislature of the State of New York; on the Subject of a Canal Communication . . .*, 9 (n.p., 1816). Other anticipations of the great wealth that would return to New York over the Erie Canal can be found in *Facts and Observations in Relation to the Origin and Completion of the Erie Canal*, 35 (New York, 1825); *Memorial of the Citizens of New York in Favor of a Canal Navigation . . .*, 3 (New York, 1816); and Charles G. Haines, *Considerations on the Great Western Canal . . .*, 11 (Brooklyn, 1818).

³²Jesse Hawley, *An Essay on the Enlargement of the Erie Canal*, 9 (Lockport, 1840).

³³James L. Barton, *Commerce of the Lakes*, 64 (Buffalo, 1847).

³⁴*Buffalo Emporium*, September 24, 1825.

³⁵Barton, *Commerce of the Lakes*, 45.

Erie Canal to Albany.³⁶ Michigan began to add wheat to the agricultural surplus moving northeast in 1835.³⁷ Ships leaving Detroit in 1841 carried altogether 180,000 bushels of flour, 12,000 barrels of whiskey, and lumber valued at \$75,000.³⁸ By 1844 only Ohio was sending more goods than Michigan to the Erie Canal.³⁹

Michigan provided 485,000 of the three and one half million bushels of wheat and more than half of the million barrels of flour which entered the Erie Canal from the West in 1846. Corn and other grains also went to the Erie Canal in the fifty-thousand gallons of whiskey shipped the same year. One fourth of the staves and one third of the pot and pearl ashes entering the canal from the western states were from Michigan. Though often of considerable value, shipments of pork, bacon, and beef were very small. Wool exports to the canal amounted to 521,000 pounds in 1846, although these too were small compared to the millions sent from Ohio and Illinois. New manufactured products had begun to find their place in Michigan surplus by midcentury. Over four hundred thousand pounds of furniture and a small amount of leather left Michigan in 1846 bound for Erie water.⁴⁰ And, token of boom days to come, the first lot of clear cork pine from the rich Saginaw area moved down the canal for New York City in 1847.⁴¹

These cargoes, destined for the long, narrow, snub-nosed craft that plied the New York canals, revealed the growth of new areas in Michigan. The total shipments from the ports of Monroe, St. Joseph, and Grand River, together with those of smaller outlets, nearly equalled the exports of Detroit in value.⁴² Although the fullest impact of Michigan produce in New York belongs to a time beyond our consideration here by midcentury the pattern of future influence was clearly outlined.

³⁶Buffalo *Republican Press*, August 21, 1821; Buffalo *Emporium*, September 2, 1826.

³⁷Albert L. Kohlmeier, *The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union*, 19 (Bloomington, 1938).

³⁸Almon E. Parkins, *The Historical Geography of Detroit*, 289-91 (Lansing, 1918).

³⁹Barton, *Commerce of the Lakes*, appended table.

⁴⁰Barton, *Commerce of the Lakes*, appended table.

⁴¹Milo M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, *Michigan: From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth*, 220 (New York, 1948).

⁴²Barton, *Commerce of the Lakes*, 31-32.

If New York was going to continue to reflect this growing productivity in the Old Northwest, it was imperative that the Erie Canal be maintained and enlarged in proportion to the demands placed upon it. The problem of keeping this much desired trade was the identical problem recognized in the initial planning of the canal itself. The Old Northwest was a pivotal area requiring a profitable accommodation to insure the surrender of its produce to the particular Atlantic-bound channel which passed through New York. The vision of the lush potential of the lake country was coupled with apprehensiveness lest that trade find rival routes to the sea.

At the outset many in New York expressed fear that national geography would split the Union along its Appalachian backbone, and that with the fall of the Union would go liberty itself. The *Memorial of the Citizens of New York* urging construction of the canal in 1816 posed the danger most clearly:

However serious the fears which have been entertained of a dismemberment of the Union by collision between the north and the south, it is to be apprehended that the most imminent danger lies in another direction, and that a line of separation may be eventually drawn between the Atlantic and the western states, unless they are cemented by a common, an ever acting and a powerful interest. The commerce of the ocean, and the trade of the lakes, passing through one channel . . . will form an imperishable bond of union.⁴³

The Ohio and Mississippi rivers offered a natural outlet to the sea, and claimed a major share of the trade of the Old Northwest.⁴⁴ But perhaps most of all, New Yorkers felt the economic and even the military rivalry of the British in Canada.

This rivalry was pointed up in the response of the New York canal commissioners to a canal route proposed by the Michigan territorial government. In 1812 the New York commissioners addressed the officials of the Michigan government for aid in the construction of an overland canal to Lake Erie. They requested either financial help or support in Congress for a national construction of the canal. The Michigan officials of that year, Reuben Atwater, Augustus B. Woodward, and James Witherell, withheld their assist-

⁴³*Memorial of the Citizens of New York in Favor of a Canal Navigation* . . . , 17-18.

⁴⁴See Kohlmeier, *The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union*.

ance, preferring a deep-water canal around Niagara Falls and the utilization of the Ontario route to Oswego and the Mohawk River. The New York commissioners countered with an argument invoked for the next half century; once cargoes were free on Lake Ontario, who would say that they would not go on to Montreal? Such a scheme would only "increase . . . the wealth of Canada and the power of Great Britain."⁴⁵

The question was heard frequently as canal agitation mounted in 1816. "Are you disposed to fold your arms and say," challenged De Witt Clinton,

You are willing that the produce of millions of our own citizens should pass directly to the city of Montreal, and there build a great splendid and powerful city? . . . If we have no regard for private interest, we should at least have some respect for national honour.⁴⁶

The final argument which induced Chancellor James Kent to give an important vote for the law of 1817 authorizing the construction of the canal was the belief prevalent in New York that another war with Britain in Canada was imminent.⁴⁷ William Darby, the well-known geographer of his day, placed Michigan in a great "middle commercial district" which depended for its tie to New York on the Erie Canal. After a tour to Detroit in 1818, he wrote:

Without such a channel to the Atlantic coast remote and distant population will be either forced to form their commercial connections with Montreal, or remain in a state of inactivity. . . . The man who confounds the subject of the Canal with local or personal politics, has very little . . . respect for his own future fame.⁴⁸

Darby's advice fell on deaf ears. A misguided effort to end Clinton's political career in 1824 led a partisan Assembly to dismiss him as president of the canal board, and the New York canal system was almost immediately involved in a political struggle over the issue of the enlargement.

A confident estimate of future trade in 1825 allowed only "half a century" before it would be necessary to abandon the Erie Canal

⁴⁵Laws, 1:74-78, 89.

⁴⁶Atticus, [DeWitt Clinton], *Remarks on the Proposed Canal* . . . , 11 (New York, 1816).

⁴⁷David Hosack, *Memoir of DeWitt Clinton*, 387-89. See also the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, March 1, 1831, and Colden, *Memoir . . . of the New York Canals*, 42.

⁴⁸William Darby, *A Tour . . . To Detroit* . . . , xxxiv-xxxv (New York, 1819).

and substitute a sloop navigation.⁴⁹ The volume of traffic swelled until it choked the tiny forty foot by four foot dimension of the canal. Albany saw the arrival of 1,329 boats from the West in 1823; by 1826 the number of Western arrivals had multiplied to nearly seven thousand.⁵⁰ There were three thousand boats on the canal in 1836 and five thousand by 1850. Conventions in counties up and down the state called for a "speedy enlargement." In 1836 construction was begun to widen and deepen the canal.

The enlargement issue troubled New York political history for more than two decades. Governor William Henry Seward, enthusiastically supported by the Whigs as "the second Clinton," began an improvement program which necessitated a severe extension of state credit. When the opposing Democratic Locofocos came to power in 1841, they applied a drastic remedy in the "stop and tax" policy of 1842 and allowed only those alterations which could be paid for out of surplus revenues. The battle royal which ensued over the continuation of the enlargement was essentially local and inextricably entangled with the partisan goals of the next election. Yet the enlargement issue was national in scope and was influenced by the competition between the rival routes connecting the lakes and the sea. Since the opening of the Welland Canal to sloop navigation in the fall of 1829, New York merchants and farmers had displayed marked anxiety as that canal diverted trade from the Erie Canal to the Montreal market; though they did not hesitate to sell in that market themselves whenever it profited them to do so.⁵¹

The contest for the trade of the West and of Michigan turned on price. During the early 1840's, a barrel of flour could be sent from Detroit through the Welland Canal to Montreal for eighty cents; by way of Buffalo and the Erie Canal to New York, the cost was

⁴⁹A View of the Grand Canal, 15.

⁵⁰Buffalo Journal and Commercial Advertiser, September 19, 1826.

⁵¹Capitalizing on this anxiety the Whigs attempted to stigmatize opponents of the enlargement as the "British Party." Rochester Daily Democrat, October 31, 1842. See also the Buffalo Emporium, April 12, 1827; Rochester Daily Advertiser, July 20, 1829, April 14, 22, 1831. Nevertheless, considerable stock was held in the Welland Canal by Buffalonians and the Monroe Republican of May 9, 1826 reveals this interesting admission: "We are perfectly willing the New Yorkers should eat of our superior flour, but if the Canadians will pay us a better price for it, the pressure of the times, prompts us to sell it to them, even though it should contribute a trifle to his Britannic majesty's revenue."

\$1.06. Pork could be sent from Detroit to Montreal for \$1.12; the rate to send the same barrel over Erie waters to New York was \$1.83. "What is New York doing to claim this trade?" demanded the *Daily Democrat* of Rochester, "*Suspending Enlargement and tossing the prize into the hands of sister states and a foreign nation!* How palpably suicidal is such a policy!"⁵² Sister states were competitors as well, for Ohio and Pennsylvania had constructed elaborate canal systems in emulation of the success of New York. Once the Erie Canal had reached its new dimensions of seventy feet by seven feet, the cost of transport could be reduced by 25 per cent; ninety-nine foot boats, carrying four thousand bushels of wheat or eleven hundred barrels of flour would, it was believed in New York, underbid the rates of any rival route.⁵³

Anticipation of the growing commerce of Michigan and other states of the Old Northwest stimulated the demand for a larger canal. "It is only six years since wheat and flour began to be sent east to any extent from Detroit," noted Rochester's *Daily Democrat*.

The surplus of Michigan and Wisconsin and Northern Illinois, will increase at one hundred per cent in five, and two hundred per cent in ten years. This surplus must find its way to the Atlantic border. But how? Not through the Erie Canal unless it be enlarged.⁵⁴

The stormy politics of the Empire State, however, grew out of differing conceptions of national interest and party responsibility. Although spurred by the prospect of Western trade, the enlargement of the entire canal was not completed until the coming of the Civil War.

One deterrent to expansion was in the fact that the canal was not an unmixed blessing. Land values increased four to five times along the canal, but the course of the wheat lands was carried farther and farther west. New York farmers found that Michigan wheat competed with their own, and the produce had an uneven effect on eastern prosperity. From the earliest history of the canal, opposition was felt in the areas nearest tidewater to the opening of new lands to competition with their own produce.

Once inaugurated, the life of the New York canal system lay in

⁵²Rochester *Daily Democrat*, May 11, October 18, 28, 1842.

⁵³Rochester *Daily Democrat*, May 18, 1843.

⁵⁴Rochester *Daily Democrat*, August 27, 1846.

its integration with the progress of internal improvements throughout the West. The Oswego Canal extended from Syracuse to Lake Ontario. The Conewango Canal was projected to meet the Allegheny River at Warren, Pennsylvania, and the Genesee Valley Canal made a junction with that river at Olean. The latter canals were attempts to develop new areas of western New York and to connect the Erie Canal with the Pennsylvania and Ohio waterways. A determined effort was made to transform the canals of rival states into "tributaries" to the Erie by an integration of canal boat lines and by lowering the tolls in New York.⁵⁵

Similarly, those whose interests were tied to the Erie Canal in New York watched the "big-ditch mania" spread to Michigan. The Buffalo *Emporium* hailed a Michigan memorial of 1827 proposing a canal from Detroit to Lake Michigan as "a grand link" to the New York canal system. "We consider a canal to connect Lakes Erie and Michigan an important national object," wrote the editor, "and if one can be constructed to admit of steamboat navigation, it will be hardly possible to anticipate the advantages which will be derived from them. . . ."⁵⁶ When a private company petitioned the Michigan State Legislature in 1846 to build a canal around the falls of the Sault Ste Marie, its stockholders came not only from Michigan, but also from Buffalo and Rochester in New York.⁵⁷

Midcentury brought new forces to play in the relationships between New York and Michigan. Railroads, which had been growing in competition since the early 1830's, were consolidated in the 1850's and opened overland arteries of commerce and passenger travel. Michigan trade, increasing in volume and accommodated by an

⁵⁵Buffalo *Gazette*, April 8, 1817; Buffalo *Emporium*, March 26, July 9, December 31, 1825, July 9, 1827; Rochester *Daily Democrat*, April 12, 1843, July 30, 1845. The canal boat *Eclipse of the Ohio*, built on Conneaut Creek, Ohio, and towed on Lake Erie by the Henry Clay, was cheered at every canalside village as she moved down the Erie Canal in the spring of 1826. The next year several boats were sent by the Erie Canal lines to ply on the Ohio canals. A convention of proprietors of Hudson River towboats, Lake Erie steamboats, and Erie and Ohio canal line boats met at Buffalo in 1835 to secure "the immense trade which must flow to and from the vast valley of the Ohio, to our favorite Atlantic City." Quoted in the Rochester *Daily Democrat*, March 7, 1835.

⁵⁶Buffalo *Emporium*, December 27, 1827, September 11, 1828; Clarence E. Carter, editor, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 9:1131-32, 1189-90 (Washington, D.C., 1943).

⁵⁷Rochester *Daily Democrat*, April 14, 1847.

enlarged waterway it had helped to build, sustained the canal long after its New York environs gave diminished support. A rapid decline in the tonnage carried by the Erie Canal followed the peak year of 1872, but the canal continued to link New York and Michigan throughout the century and even today serves Great Lakes trade as the New York Barge Canal.

The Erie Canal was a great avenue to the Old Northwest during the middle period in American history. But this rich hinterland influenced the building of the canal and the lives of those who lived along its banks. Many in New York were part of the same frontier. They were awake to the resources within their grasp and they sensed their responsibility in providing a bond of union to keep East and West together under one republican government. Some departed for Michigan themselves, unwilling to wait for the return of the riches they had tapped. Those who stayed behind strove to make their "artificial river" keep pace with the growing productivity of the Old Northwest.

The stamp of Michigan appears repeatedly upon the formative years of the Erie Canal. The author of a pamphlet written at the celebration of the "meeting of the waters" in New York City in 1825 looked to the promise of Michigan as he praised the new canal:

The preparation to welcome boats from Detroit and Buffalo, on their reaching this city, is extensive and grand beyond precedent. Neither the Declaration of Independence, the evacuation of New York by our old taskmasters, nor the late arrival of LaFayette, has been more enthusiastically celebrated than will be the completion of the canal, and perhaps properly so, for while independence conferred liberty, the canal was necessary to secure it.⁵⁸

⁵⁸A *View of the Grand Canal*, 22.

Michigan's Pioneer Architecture

Howell Taylor

WAY BACK WHEN MICHIGAN WAS A PIONEER TERRITORY and Detroit was just growing pinfeathers, it was no easy task to come out West and establish one's self and family. But the completion of the Erie Canal in the fall of 1825 provided a ready means of transportation to the fertile Great Lakes district which was quickly accepted by enterprising families throughout the North and Middle Atlantic states.

Before this the long overland journey to the eastern end of Lake Erie, the scarcity of white settlers at the western end, the perilous travel to reach the desired localities, the bands of marauding Indians, and the differing reports concerning the quality of the soil had made the development of the new territories unusually slow. Moreover, the cost of transporting goods at \$32 a ton for each hundred miles by wagon was well-nigh prohibitive, and prevented the building up of any commercial trade. However interested may have been many a young farmer in moving his household to a land of better opportunity, the undertaking was too uncertain for serious consideration.

The building of the Erie Canal changed all of this. Goods were transported at \$1.00 a ton and travel became easy and reasonably comfortable. Accordingly, large numbers of people began to avail themselves of the advantages which the government was offering to pioneer settlers. The opening of the canal even changed for a time the whole trend of western migration, for it provided a safe all-water route to what proved to be one of the most beautiful parts of the Northwest Territory, while the partly completed Cumberland National Pike, starting at Cumberland, Maryland,—for thirty years the principal route to the West—remained hazardous and difficult.

With remarkably few exceptions, the county histories of southern Michigan, northern Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin indicate the large number of pioneer families which came from the Atlantic states. The rapid settlement of the country accounts for its general architectural appearance today, which resembles New York state to an unusual degree. In the Atlantic states it took nearly two hundred years to accomplish the settled status which was accomplished in the

Northwest Territory in thirty—say the period from 1825 to 1855. There were few villages of any consequence before 1820, although Detroit had been settled much earlier, of course, for Cadillac had established himself there when Boston and New York were still very young. It was a French village, however, having little in common with the eastern colonies; and whatever may have been its architecture all evidences were entirely destroyed in 1805 by a fire which left but two buildings standing.

It was not until the War of 1812 had established the need of better transportation between the frontier forts that the government commenced the building of several direct roads connecting military posts. The first of these was completed in 1818 and led from Detroit through Monroe and Port Lawrence (now Toledo) to the rapids of the Maumee River in Ohio, all strategic points of military importance.

With the opening of the canal, such unusual impetus was given to the land sales throughout Michigan and northern Ohio, with its accompanying pioneer traffic, that a stage line was established almost immediately over this road. Many other new roads were built—often along the Indian trails—and routes were quickly started running into northern Ohio, Michigan, and farther west, connecting with boats on Lake Erie from the east, which now began making regular trips with Buffalo as the eastern terminus.

Traffic became so heavy that roadside inns sprang up in large numbers and by 1830 thriving taverns were operating at almost every junction point and hamlet. Log houses were rapidly replaced by clapboard, brick or stone dwellings. By 1840 there were hundreds of comfortable houses, churches, and public buildings built in the prevailing style. Within ten years of the opening of the canal many of the principal routes leading west from Lake Erie had assumed an appearance quite recognizable in 1950.

The first of these new roads to be completed after the opening of this important new water route from the Atlantic Coast was authorized by Congress on March 3, 1825, to be built from Detroit to Chicago. The building of the Chicago Pike, as it has always been known, although growing out of a military necessity, proved to be the most important element in the development of the larger part of the Northwest Territory, for it opened an immense inland district

of great natural beauty and remarkable fertility which heretofore had been practically trackless except for rough Indian trails.

At Cambridge Junction in Lenawee County, the Chicago Pike meets La Plaisance Bay Road (built in 1832) from Monroe on Lake Erie, which was the landing place for many years of thousands of western-bound settlers to Lake Michigan.

In Monroe and Lenawee counties, which adjoin and occupy an important position at the western end of Lake Erie, the setting for the preservation of pioneer architecture is especially interesting, for there are no large cities with their attendant propensities for destroying the buildings of an earlier day. Here it was that the heaviest early traffic existed. Several coaches traveled each way daily. It was the exception if every inn was not filled to overflowing. And here were found on every side the comfortable dwellings, churches, and schools in the varying phases of the Greek Revival style. Unlike New England, the small cities and towns offer fewer examples, perhaps, than the countryside because their important period of growth came so often during the later gimcrack regime; but in the backward villages and hamlets and along the old post and military roads are delightful buildings which bespeak an appreciation of Greek forms and a freedom in design which is often naïve.

When the pioneers came with their architecture, the Colonial style had attained a fine development and the Greek Revival was gaining popularity. It is presumed that we should find in the more desirable districts of the Northwest Territory as interesting a phase of the two as in any part of the country, for so many elements—more or less conflicting—found a meeting place here. Among these were the developed architectural tastes of settlers from different eastern states, each with its localisms, the meager facilities for carrying them out in what was almost unbroken forest, and the rapidity of settlement of the country.

A similar incident in architectural history had occurred a century or so earlier in the mingling of English and Dutch ideas on the Atlantic Coast, from which have resulted some of our best Colonial examples. H. Langford Warren of Harvard has shown in many lectures (not published) the various stages of development in the Colonial house of New England from its prototype in old England. The

Dutch ancestry of early New York and Pennsylvania is, of course, apparent.

To say that the Middle West is as full of beautiful examples of early pioneer architecture as the eastern states would be far from correct, for the Colonial development attained a much higher degree of refinement, and the relaxed and more settled culture of the period undoubtedly had its effects on the architecture and craftsmanship of each locality. But eastern forebears gave a legacy of good taste and general care in building to the Middle West which is to be noted in hundreds of worthy examples. These are deserving not only of permanent record but of careful study as well.

At Cambridge Junction, for instance, in the heart of the lovely Irish Hills is Walker Tavern whose traditions have given it an atmosphere of historical interest, for it housed many notables during its period of activity. Indeed, one does not have to stretch his imagination far to see a group of early nineteenth century gentlemen coming out of the comfortable taproom at the right to seat themselves in Windsor chairs on the long veranda for an evening pipe. Daniel Webster or Henry Clay might even have been among the number, for both were visitors at one time, and Fenimore Cooper with his family spent several months here while he gathered material for *Oak Openings*.

The building is a simple York State farmhouse in its mass and general proportions, but the narrow veranda around two sides with heavy, square columns supporting the roof, which is returned on itself at both ends, is crude but typically a Revival characteristic. Erected by Ezra Blood in 1832, and sold soon after to Sylvester Walker, it has done continuous service throughout the cycle of a transportation development which has once again brought the countryside into its own.

By 1854 Walker's fame as an innkeeper had reached the Atlantic Coast and traffic had grown so heavy over those two important roads that a more pretentious brick hotel was built across the road. Prosperity was short-lived, however, for the Michigan Southern Railroad started service in that year and road travel was practically abandoned.

By no means, however, is Walker Tavern the fine example of design and workmanship found in a large number of other buildings of the southern Michigan area. The Elijah Anderson house (1832)

and the Yawger (McAllister) house (1839) at Tecumseh; the residence of Governor Charles M. Croswell (about 1840) at Adrian, carefully restored by George Smith, architect of Cleveland; the beautifully proportioned dwelling built by Thomas Howland (1840) near Adrian are a very few fine, vigorous structures of the Greek Revival style. Not one is like any other. The Yawger house, so named because it was owned by Adrian V. Yawger for many years, was probably built by Rhoda Pitts Bacon in 1849 rather than by James McAllister who owned the land in 1839. It is a one-story, modified Greek temple with two fluted Doric columns in antis at the front. The Anderson house has a fine belvedere. The Howland house is typical York State without a roofed entrance porch. The Wilson-Wahr house, built in Ann Arbor by Judge Robert S. Wilson probably between 1836 and 1840, is an Ionic temple of unusually good proportions with a charming entrance.

Romeo and Marshall have a number of handsome, pioneer houses which are distinctive in general treatment. Especially good is the Nathan Dickinson house (1841) at Romeo, whose pegged frame, fully exposed in the attic, is a remarkable piece of handcraftsmanship. The carpenter has even provided wooden pegs in the heavy plates on which to stretch clothesline for drying in wet weather. The Greek Revival dwelling which forms the front of the Grand Rapids Art Museum is a charming building and offers a most interesting suggestion for the preservation and use of these old structures. Back of it and attached, a fireproof wing has been added which provides necessary display space and protection for the collections.

In Traverse City is the only decorated Greek Revival frieze that I have seen in this area, which obviously dates from the original construction. Mackinac Island has a number of beautiful early structures. These have been recorded and will eventually be fully restored, it is hoped, under the able direction of Emil Lorch. Already considerable research and study of these buildings has been made.

The materials used in these pioneer buildings are, for the most part, brick and wood, although there are many fine stone houses as well. Wood has been used in Michigan more often because of the prevalence of the easily worked Michigan pine. In Ohio, brick is often seen; and in regions where stone is plentiful, many houses are of squared field stone.

The forms, mouldings, ornaments, and proportions are sometimes crude, that is, they lack the delicate touches which may be imparted by a discriminating designer with a larger designing vocabulary. Many of the pioneer structures of the Middle West lack, for this reason, an essential element of good design. They are sturdy, robust structures, however, and indicate a common knowledge of good architectural style which has been applied without the influence which a highly trained taste or more facile knowledge of the elements involved can bring.

There were few curved lines in any detail. Delicate fan windows and round columns were infrequent. The designers relied entirely on their ability to establish good proportions and gain grace and lightness with square corners and straight lines; and perhaps they have proved themselves the greater artists if they have accomplished pleasing results without the help of elaborate mouldings and round members.

It is a splendid expression, however, which makes one wonder what might have happened had not the Civil War intervened to break the continuity of its development. It is not so important that we know who the builders were—for the most part we know that the houses are the work of local carpenters. It is rather to the glory of the period that they knew enough to build as they did; and we can get no little inspiration from a thoughtful comparison, for instance, of the average house of 1840 with that of 1890 or 1950. It is also to the credit of the builders that their work stands today a convincing proof of the unconscious good taste of the time, mocking the spirit which prompted the atrocities of Victorianism. Vigor of design is its own memorial, arousing honest praise for the pioneer craftsmen.

The following examples are well preserved expressions of Michigan pioneer architecture, all mentioned above except the Clinton Inn; The Adrian V. Yawger house at Tecumseh, The Thomas Howland house near Adrian, the Clinton Inn, and the Elijah Anderson house at Tecumseh.

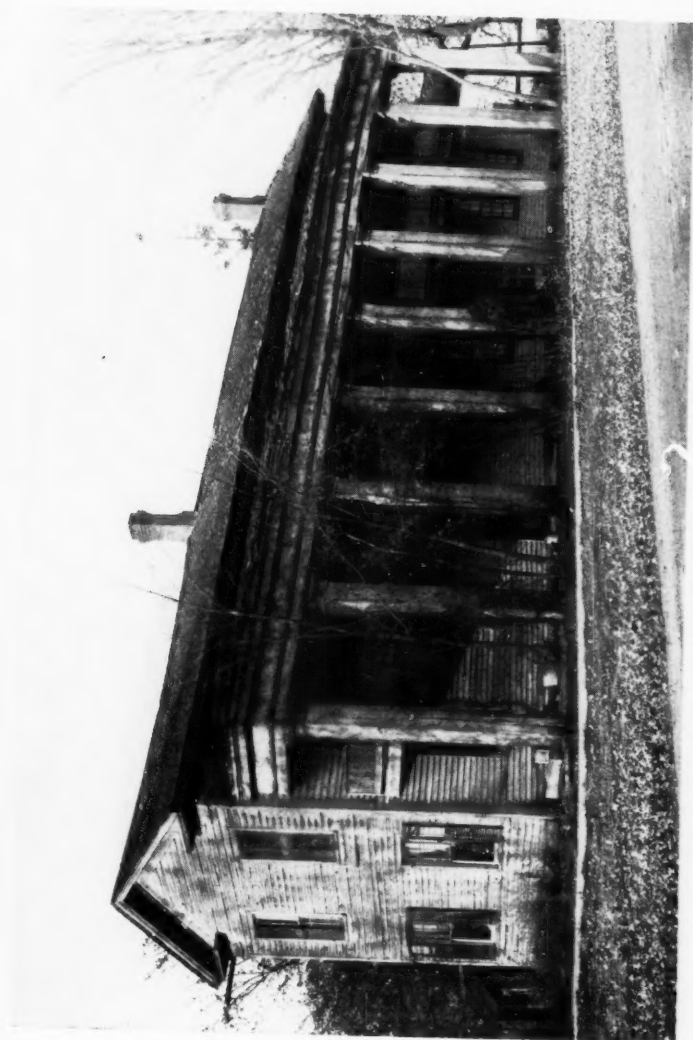
The Adrian V. Yawger house at Tecumseh was probably built about 1849 by Rhoda Pitts Bacon on land purchased from James McAllister. This charming dwelling at first consisted only of the center portion with recessed columns. Later the wings were added



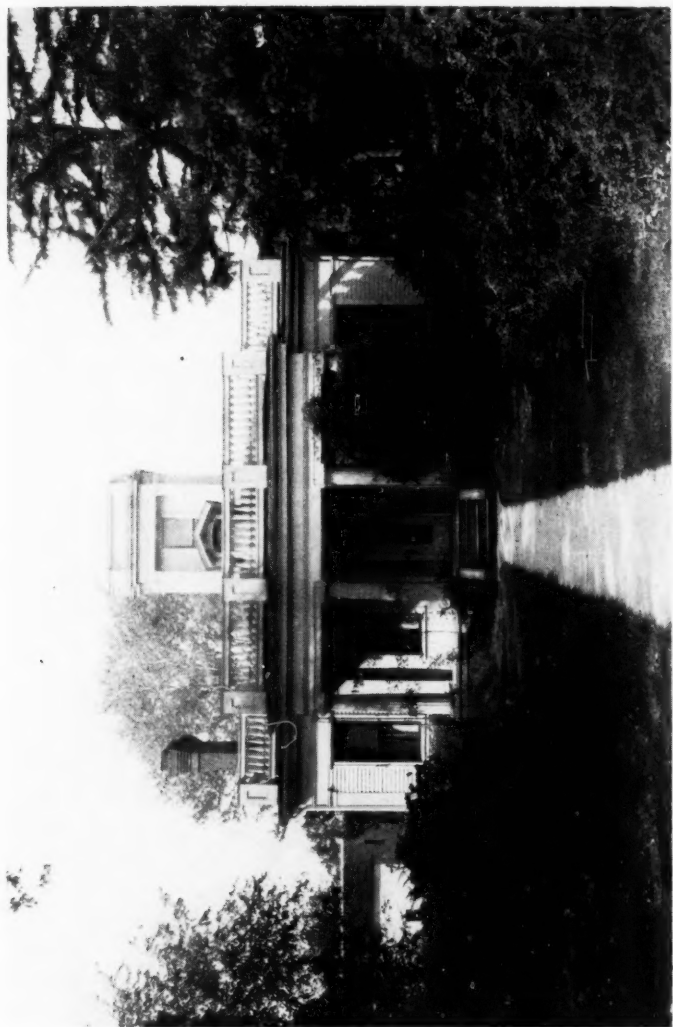
THE ADRIAN V. YAWGER HOUSE



THE THOMAS HOWLAND HOUSE



THE CLINTON INN



THE ELIJAH ANDERSON HOUSE

and various other changes made, none of which have taken away from the classic beauty of the building. To Judge and Mrs. George Rathbun, who were owners for many years, goes the credit for restoring the divided-light windows which are so much a part of the original design. The proportions of the building and the details are unusually good and indicate the high degree of good architectural taste which was prevalent at the time.

The Thomas Howland house near Adrian was built in 1840. Pegged together with great oak pins, the hand-hewn timbers of this substantial and beautifully designed dwelling have withstood the wear and tear of 112 years, and have kept the structure ably fulfilling its function. It was built with a typical barn frame, as most of the early houses were, so that the outside surfacing material had nothing to do with holding the house together, just as today the skeleton steel frames of modern structures do all of the "work".

That this system of building was effective was proved without any doubt when a severe cyclone went through the district in 1885, or 45 years after the house was built, and caused no other damage than to level the chimneys to the roof line, and topple over the charming little belfry on the rear wing.

This house speaks for itself architecturally, for one need not be a trained architect to appreciate the simple dignity of the design, the careful proportioning of the window and door treatment on the front, and to realize that a master craftsman, whoever he may have been, had an inherent sense of the beautiful which transcends the obstacles of pioneer life.

The Clinton Inn on the Chicago Pike at Clinton was built in 1830. Known variously as Park's Tavern, Eagle Tavern, and Union Hotel, this building was one of the important stagecoach stops between Detroit and Chicago. Its original builder is still uncertain. James Park purchased the place in 1831 and moved in with his family. The structure was purchased and removed to Greenfield Village by Henry Ford in 1927. Today, the interesting old building, although something of a monstrosity from the viewpoint of an architect, is fully restored and in use at Greenfield Village.

The Elijah Anderson house in Tecumseh was built in 1832. This unusual one-story variation of the Greek Revival theme has a well-proportioned facade, a well-handled belvedere, a nicely detailed

cornice with railing and columns, all of which indicate the inherent good taste of the carpenter-builder. Obviously, changes from the original have been made—the divided window sash have been removed, the anachronistic dormer added and a front with glass frame, none of which were there when the house was built. In spite of these however, it is a charming example which deserves recording. To Mr. and Mrs. P. W. A. Fitzsimmons, former owners, go much of the credit for preserving it.

Rochester to Mackinac Island, 1830

Edited with an Introduction by Philip P. Mason

THE OPENING OF THE ERIE CANAL IN 1825 stimulated a vast migration of settlers to Michigan Territory. The experiences of Elisha Loomis, a missionary, who traveled from Rochester, New York, to Mackinac Island in 1830, were typical of the thousands of settlers who came to Michigan from the East in the 1830's. Loomis' candid observations throw light on the modes of travel, the character of villages and towns through which he passed, and the social life and customs of the period. The diary, however, contains more than mere descriptions of things he saw and did. The pages clearly show the philosophy of this missionary, who was strongly motivated by religious and moral convictions.

Elisha Loomis was born in 1796 in Middlesex Township, Ontario County, New York, the seventh child in a family of ten. He spent the first sixteen years of his life on a farm near Rushville, New York, and at sixteen he became an apprentice to a printer in Canandaigua, serving in this capacity for four years. A very religious boy, with a keen desire to help others, Loomis offered his services as a missionary printer and attended the summer term at the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut.

In 1820, after his marriage to Maria Sartwell, Loomis left for the Hawaiian Islands where he remained for seven years. A secondhand printing press was brought along for the missionary printer but it was some time before Loomis could do any printing. Because the Hawaiians had no written language, Loomis and his colleagues first had to devise an alphabet. They finally produced one consisting of twelve English letters. Within a short time Loomis was turning out hundreds of pages of material in the native language. First he worked on elementary Bible lessons to be used in the mission schools on the Islands. Later he devoted his energies to hymnals, spelling books, and passages from the Bible. There was so great a demand among the natives for the printed articles and books that the constant overwork soon caused his health to fail. In 1827 he left the Island mission and returned to his home in Rushville. His experiences as one

of the first missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands are colorfully portrayed in *Grapes of Canaan*¹.

At Rushville he got a job on the *Rochester Observer*, a religious weekly; but after two years he decided to give up this work and go with his wife and children to the mission at Mackinac Island as a teacher. The Mackinac mission, established in 1823 by the Reverend William Montague Ferry under the patronage of the United Foreign Missionary Society,² was principally designed as a boarding school for training young Indians as teachers and interpreters in the missions of the interior. Mackinac Island was a military post as well as the headquarters of the American Fur Company in the 1820's. During the summer months Indians and traders came to the island in large numbers and they often left their children at the mission for training. In 1824 the United Foreign Missionary Society allowed children of white settlers and traders to attend the school. The enrollment increased steadily, and by 1829 over a hundred boarding students were attending the mission school. Although most of them were half-breeds, there were representatives of the Ottawa, Chipewewa, Potawatomi, Winnebago, Menominee, Sauk, and Sioux tribes.

Loomis remained at Mackinac Island for two years, teaching young Indians and editing a spelling book. In 1832 he returned to Rushville and opened a small private school. Again illness, diagnosed as consumption, forced him to abandon this venture. With a small pension from the American Board he spent his last days in Florida trying unsuccessfully to regain his health. He died in 1836.

The diary and other Loomis material were given to the Michigan Historical Collections in 1951 by Miss Albertine Loomis. The diary is in very good condition and the writing is clear and legible. The manuscript is printed here essentially as it was written except for the insertion of some words in brackets and some changes in punctuation to make the meaning clearer.

¹Albertine Loomis, *Grapes of Canaan* (New York, 1951). Miss Loomis is a great-granddaughter of Elisha and Maria Loomis.

²The United Foreign Missionary Society was founded in 1817 by the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches. In 1826 it merged with the American Board for Foreign Missions.

DIARY OF TRIP ROCHESTER TO MACKINAC
ISLAND*Elisha Loomis*

Rochester, [New York,] October 14, 1830. I have at length settled my affairs and am ready to start on my journey to Mackinaw. I was engaged in business here two years and six months, and I cannot say my business was prosperous, yet it has afforded a support for myself and family, and leaves me on hand about 80 dollars in money and some household furniture. I have been enabled to give something constantly to the various objects of benevolence which come before me. My *regular* contributions were to the A[merican] Board³ 14 dollars per annum—Education say 12 dols—poor of the church &c. \$4.25, for the support of our minister \$22, and in general 25 cts at every contribution for any benevolent object. On the whole, I have reason to be greatly thankful for blessings received, and that I may now engage again in giving instructions to heathens.

Evening. On board a Canal packet boat bound to Buffalo. Mrs. L. and myself with Amanda, and Evarts (our two children who accompany us) embarked at 1/2 past 8 A. M. This method of Traveling, though not new to us, is probably so to most of you—yet so well known as not to need a description. The only apparent danger to be apprehended is when passing the brigges [bridges] which are numerous and so low that often the boat will but just pass under. As passengers are fond of walking on deck, it is necessary to keep a good look out, for the brigges. The general practice is, of course, to go below on such an occasion, but when the bridge is sufficiently high all that is necessary is to be flat on the deck till the brigge is past. I remember previous to the last presidential election when it was customary to take the votes of passengers on that subject, a gentleman called out just as our boat was passing under a bridge, "All those that are for Jackson will down upon their knees," which ceremony was of course performed by the whole company on deck from necessity. The triumph however was but short as one of the passengers,

³The American Board represented the Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Dutch Reformed denominations.

who was on the forward part of the boat, as soon as he had passed the bridge cried "Let those that are for Adams rise up."

Some persons are in the habit of leaping from the boat, upon the brigge, when passing—then running to the opposite side and jumping down—a practice, which ought to be reprobated—as besides the danger of being drawn under the brigge in case of a false step—the person may jump upon some one on deck, or fall into the body of the boat. This last accident I witnessed today. A boy, with apples to sell leaped from a bridge just as the boat was passing under, but for want of due care fell into the cook's room, whence he was taken out without serious injury, though it was a wonder he was not killed.

Our company consists of about 30 passengers and as usual, there are but few among them who seem to regard the interest of their souls and those few, have not courage to say much in behalf of Christ. O when whill [sic] the disciples of Christ be as wise in their generation, and as faithful as are the devotees of Mammon! It is a reproach to the cause of our redeemer—but how hard to take up the cross. I have left in the cabin the *Memoirs of Mr. Judson*,⁴ and a few tracts which have arrested the attention of some—while others resort to *card playing*, as their chief occupation while on board. We have on board one who I have reason to believe is a Methodist preacher. He does not however display much zeal. In conversation this evening respecting the glorious work of the Holy Spirit now going on in Rochester, he seemed to think me heretical in sentiment because I maintained every sinner had power to repent, and was inexcusable for not so doing. I know not what peculiar sentiments Mr. A. entertained as he declined entering into the subject. How many preachers in our own denomination while proving that God is the author of every soul's conversion, do it in such a manner as to lead sinners to excuse themselves from repenting, alledging that they must wait God's time—that they cannot of themselves repent! What a reflection on the character of God. Does he require that which the sinner is unable to perform. How absurd—yet I fear the impitent get such impressions from the preaching of many eminent teachers.

⁴The *Memoirs* told of the missionary activities of Rev. Adoniram Judson (1788-1850) in Burma from 1813 to 1845.

Buffalo, [October] 15th. We passed Lockport in the night. The canal here descends 60 feet in five Double Locks. Beyond this is what is called the Deep Cut a section of [blank in the diary] miles where the canal passes through a solid rock. It was my intension to have taken the stage for Lewiston, at Lockport—but the weather was so unfavorable that I relinquished the design. I felt anxious to visit the Tuscaran Mission,⁵ the falls of Niagara, and the scenes of the various sanguinary [sic] conflicts which took place on the banks of the Niagara during the last war. We reached Buffalo about 10 o'clock A. M. and am now at the house of J. [illegible], a friend of ours.

[October] 16. Rented a horse and chaise and set out to visit the Seneca Mission⁶ 4 miles distant. After proceeding nearly two miles, we found the road absolutely impassable with our vehicle, and reluctantly faced about and retraced our steps. We rode through the principle [sic] streets of Buffalo for the purpose of viewing it. It is a place of great business, and will probably be one of the most important in the Western country. It is there that the Grand Canal terminates, but the navigation by steam boats, and shipping of all classes is uninterrupted far above this for many hundred miles. Steam boats leave here *daily* for Detroit—and schooners are almost constantly passing up and down the lake. A branch of the U. S. Bank is established here. Buffalo has a Presbyterian, an Episcopal, a Catholic and some other churches but I am sorry to say there is but little attention to the subject of religion manifested here. The church is asleep, and the enemy sowing tares.

[October] 17. Left Buffalo this morning in the Steam boat Niagara. A Miss [Persis] Skinner, from Brooklyn, N. Y. is now with us, going to join the Mission at Mackinaw.

[October] 19. Detroit. We arrived here this morning 46 hours from Buffalo, having had an uncommonly good passage although last night it blew a gale. Our vessel was strong, and calculated for the navigation of the lake, which is generally boisterous at this season of the year.

⁵Situated in the Tuscaran Indian Village about four miles east of Lewiston, this mission was under the direction of the United Foreign Missionary Society in 1830.

⁶The Seneca Mission, which was transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society in 1821, was located five miles from Buffalo near the outlet of Lake Erie.

Our company on the boat was quite respectable, but less numerous than usual. The price of a passage in the cabin is \$10 which includes all expenses. Among our passengers was a Mr. B., a member of the Kentucky Legislature, as he informed us, and quite a politician. Many subjects were discussed by him and others—among others that of the policy of the present administration in regard to the Indians. He said our government sought their good—and did not mean to force them from their country. He said the Cherokees and other Indian nations were in reality desirous of removing, but were kept back by a few half-breed chiefs, and missionaries, whose intent it was to have them remain where they were. He respected the missionaries, but they had mistaken their duty and had better return to *England* and *Scotland* whence they had been sent out &c. &c. When he had finished he proposed to instruct the company in the various arts used by gamblers to cheat at cards, &c. Such was the employment of one, chosen to make laws for a state!

One cannot but be struck with the grandeur of the inland seas in this region. On our passage up we kept within 10 or 15 miles of the American shore stopping at Erie, Pa., at Grand River, Cleveland, and Sandusky in Ohio. We saw nothing of the Canada shore from the time we left Buffalo, till we arrived at the mouth of the Detroit river. Many of the places we passed were rendered famous by the scenes transacted during the late war, and at this spot where we now are was the place where Gen [William] Hull shamefully surrendered his army. A little sketch of its history may not be uninteresting.⁷

Detroit was founded by Mons. de la Mothe Cadillac in 1701. His company consisted of 100 men and a jesuit. The inhabitants were of course Catholics. Some 50 or 60 years previous to its settlement the French had conceived the design of establishing a chain of posts from Quebec to the head waters of the Mississippi and thence to the Gulf of Mexico, in order to prevent the English from claiming the country, or having influence west of the Mississippi. 12 forts were established, including Detroit. One of the Indian chiefs named Pontiac determined to cut off the whole of the whites at a blow. For this purpose he visited many tribes, and like King Philip induced them

⁷The diary here had crossed out the following sentence: "It is taken from an Address of Gov. Cass before the Historical Society of Michigan." This address was published in *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan*, Detroit, 1834.

to take up arms against the whites. A plan was laid to take the forts by surprise. 9 out of the 12 forts were taken and the garrisons massacred. The garrisons that escaped had notice of the intentions of the Indians and made a successful resistance. Detroit was one of the three that were not destroyed. This place had however witnessed many vicissitudes. Its flag has been changed 5 times. 3 different sovereignties [sic] have claimed its allegiance—twice it has been besieged by Indians—once captured in war—and once burned to the ground—It is now the capital of the Territory of Michigan and it ever has been since the Territory was erected. The population is 2222. It is pleasantly and favorably situated on the western side of the Detroit River as the strait connecting Huron and Erie is here called. It has 5 churches viz: a Presbyterian, an Episcopal, a Methodist, a Baptist, and a Catholic. I have seldom seen a place more handsomely situated. The river is here about a mile in diameter and very deep, although the current is nearly 3 miles an hour. Besides many sloops and schooners constantly trading between this and other ports, steam boats arrive and depart daily, ladden with passengers. A passage may be made from this place to New York City in four days and a half, although the distance is 750 miles. A few years since it was usually designated as being far "beyond the westward." There it was that Gen. Hull, after the blustering proclamation he had issued to the inhabitants of Canada, retired on the approach of the British and Indians under Gen. [Sir Isaac] Brock. Fortifications, the remains of which are still visible were immediately thrown up, but the whole army was ingloriously surrendered on the [16th] of [August 1812]. Gen. Hull was afterwards tried on charges of treason and cowardice, convicted and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was approved by the President but the execution of it remitted. Gen. Hull died a few years since, not however till he had published an able vindication of his conduct, in which he made it appear that much of the blame attached to him was chargeable to the War Department.

*Detroit is the residence of Gen. Brady commander of the N. Western Division of the army.⁸

⁸General Hugh Brady was a veteran of General Anthony Wayne's western campaign, 1792-95, and of the War of 1812. There is no reference from the text to the asterisk. It appears that Loomis added the statement later.

I have taken lodgings at the Mansion House⁹ for a few days. Col. Mack,¹⁰ the proprietor, I learned visited the Sandwich Islands about 20 years since, when on a sealing voyage.

[October] 21. How strongly do men err in offering ideas of happiness to certain situations and modes of life. I was struck with an idea, today while conversing with Mrs. M[ack] the mistress of the Mansion House. To all appearances the family are happy. Possessed of worldly riches, living in some degree of splendor, with abundance of company, of the higher class. What can they want? Alas, "even in laughter the heart is sorrowful." They know not the joys of religion. Speaking of the Sandwich Islanders in their sad state, Mrs. M[ack] remarked that they were much better than we in this country were. But said I, you know not the horrid cruelties they practiced—for some years after our arrival, it was supposed more than half the infants that were born, were put to death by the hands of their own mothers! Oh, said Mrs. M., I wish I had been one of those infants! I was struck with horror.

[October] 21. Having taken lodgings at the house of a Mr. Davis,¹¹ a merchant of this place, who has kindly invited us to remain with him while in port, I should mention that several gentlemen have interested themselves for us and would have taken us to their houses but for sickness in their families. Among them are Mr. Hastings,¹² President of the State Bank of Michigan, and Dr. Rice.¹³

⁹The Mansion House was located near what is now the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Cass Avenue. Serving various functions after its construction in 1805, it became a hotel in 1827 and was purchased by Col. Andrew Mack in 1830. The Mansion House was closed in 1833 and was torn down four years later.

¹⁰Colonel Andrew Mack (1782-1856) came to Detroit in 1830 and became one of the proprietors of the *Detroit Free Press* as well as owner of the Mansion House. He was active in public life while in Detroit. He served as collector of customs, state representative, and filled the unexpired term of Charles C. Trowbridge, who resigned as mayor of Detroit in 1835.

¹¹Either Gilbert Davis or John Davis. Both were merchants in Detroit at this time.

¹²Eurotas P. Hastings was a successful business man who was active in the public and social life of Detroit. Besides being the president of the Bank of Michigan from 1825 to 1839, he was director of the Michigan Central Railroad and was associated with other business concerns. In public life he served as recorder, auditor general, pension agent, and commissioner of district schools. He was secretary of the American Sunday School Union for several years and an elder in the Presbyterian church.

¹³Dr. Randall S. Rice was one of the few physicians in Detroit at this time. He was one of the first members of the Board of Health, and served as city treasurer and treasurer of the Detroit Athenaeum, a literary society.

[October] 22. Mr. George L. Whitney,¹⁴ a nephew of S. Whitney,¹⁵ resides in this place and is the publisher of the *North Western Journal*.¹⁶ He is a young man of respectability.

[October] 23. Sabbath. The Presbyterian clergyman, Rev. Mr. Wells,¹⁷ preached in the morning on the certainty of the triumphs of the gospel. He is evidently a man of talents. I could not however, but think the sermon would have better fitted another occasion, a week-day lecture for instance. There was no direct appeal to the impenitent to repent, an omission, which I think is culpable under any circumstances, where unconverted men or women are present. Yet alas how few comparatively of our preachers are free from this error. It is common to preach as if the conversion of souls was not the object of preaching. I sometimes think they have not studied the history of our Savior in his ministrations, or they think they have found out a method of preaching better than his. I can't but say that Mr. W.'s sermon was a good one, yet I think it would be a matter of wonder if it should lead any sinner to repent.

[October] 26. Wednesday. At the request of Rev. Mr. Wells I gave a statement, at meeting last evening, of the former condition of the Sandwich Islanders, and of the changes which had been effected by the introduction of Christianity. A few, comparatively were present; but as the subject was new to most of them, they listened with apparent interest. I regreted that I did not have previous notice that I might have made some preparation. Rev. Mr. Gregory,¹⁸ who was present, remarked afterwards that he had

¹⁴George L. Whitney published many journals, newspapers, and books in Detroit. Among them were the *Detroit Evening Spectator and Literary Gazette*, 1836-38, the *Michigan State Register*, 1836-37, *Northwestern Journal*, 1829, and the *Detroit Almanac*, 1839.

¹⁵Samuel Whitney was one of the missionaries who accompanied Loomis to the Hawaiian Islands in 1820.

¹⁶The *Northwestern Journal* was founded in 1829 as a weekly newspaper by the political friends of John Quincy Adams and was edited by William Ward. At the end of the first year it took the name of the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*.

¹⁷The Reverend Noah M. Wells was called to Detroit in 1825 to become the first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, a position which he held till 1833. He was a trustee of the University of Michigan in 1827, treasurer of the County Bible Society, and a director of the Western Seaman's Friend Society.

¹⁸The Reverend Mr. Gregory was not associated with any of the Detroit churches at this time. Perhaps he was a visitor or passing through Detroit.

supposed he knew the character of the Sandwich Islanders previously, but he now found he was mistaken.

[October] 27. On Wednesday eve we had a pleasant party of select friends at tea,—among them were two who were acquainted with Mr. Richards¹⁹ viz. Rev. Mr. Gregory, and Rev. Mr. Bury,²⁰ the latter of whom is now the Episcopal minister in this place. They, as well as the others, appear to take a deep interest in what is said of the islands. They express great indignation at the conduct of Lt. Percival whose history I briefly related.²¹

The lady of Gov. Cass called today to invite us to attend a party at the Gov. tomorrow evening, expressing her regret she had not known of our being in town sooner. We feel reluctant to attend a large party, but as our vessel is ready to sail, and we shall have no other opportunity of visiting the Gov. we have thought it a duty to go.

Saturday [October] 29. Still detained by unfavorable winds. I engaged a passage to Mackinaw in the Sch. *La Grange*, Capt. Dingley, [Dingley]²² soon after my arrival here. The vessel has been ready to sail only two days and now the wind is contrary. The current here is so strong that it is in vain to think of beating up the river. So we must have patience. I have no cause to murmur, but great cause for thankfulness. My situation here is rendered pleasant and free of expense, by the kindness of a friend.

Last evening the Gov. held a kind of levee at his house, where

¹⁹This was probably William Richards who was in the Hawaiian Islands with Loomis.

²⁰The Reverend Richard Bury became rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in 1830 and served in this capacity till ill health forced him to resign in 1833. In 1838 he was serving as rector of the Trinity Church in Detroit.

²¹The incident referred to was the behavior of Lieutenant John Percival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1826. Percival was sent in the Brig *Dolphin* to capture some mutineers on the Musgrave Islands, and on his return trip to the United States stopped at the Hawaiian Islands to settle the debts of American citizens with native chiefs. While there, he came in conflict with the missionaries over the tabu on native women. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries it was a common practice for sailors, when stopping in the Islands, to take native women on board ship each night. Soon after the missionaries arrived, however, the native chiefs forbade this practice, much to the disapproval of the sailors. Lt. Percival threatened to use force to break this tabu, and for his actions he was brought before a naval court of inquiry in 1827.

²²Warren Dingley was the master of the 101 ton schooner *La Grange* which ran between Detroit and Mackinac during this period.

about 100 persons assembled. As we had received an invitation, among others, we thought best to attend. I do not approve of Christians mixing often in parties of this kind, but do think it a duty under some circumstances to attend. I had much discussion on this subject with Miss S. and Miss O.²³ They would not admit that it was expedient *for them* to attend, unless under very peculiar circumstances. They feared that the example would prove pernicious, and the influence on their own minds injurious to vital piety. It is thought that Christians here conform too much to the world, a fact of which I have no doubt.

There was less of ceremony at the Governor's than I anticipated. The Gov. is apparently about 50 years of age. Both he and his lady appeared easy and graceful in their manners, and everything passed off pleasantly enough. Still, to the Christian such parties give little satisfaction. He needs more substantial food. Mrs. Cass is I understand a professor of religion. Her dress as well as the Gov.'s was plain and becoming, while some of the ladies present, seemed to have bestowed no small pains in decorating their bodies for the occasion. I could but pity them when I thought how soon those bodies would be food for worms.

I had a specimen today of what some would call Yankee curiosity. Walking in the street, I was accosted by a countryman, who inquired if I was acquainted in the place. No was the reply. Perhaps you are looking for a farm? No. Oh, I presume you are a trader? No. Do you remain long here? No, I leave in a day or two for Mackinaw. Oh, you reside there do you? No I was never there. Just traveling about for pleasure I suppose? I assured him I was not. Well then said he, you are going on business I know? Thinking his guessing powers by this time exhausted. I now frankly told him my object in going, assuring him I was by no means offended by his queries.

[October] 31. Sabbath. St. Clair Lake at Anchor. Word was sent us early this morning that the wind, for which the vessel had been waiting, was now favorable. We were sorry to be under the

²³An examination of the list of missionaries at Mackinac Island in 1831 shows that a Miss Eunice O. Osmar and a Miss Persis Skinner were among those missionaries. Apparently these ladies were the ones Loomis referred to as Miss O. and Miss S.

necessity of going on the Sabbath, but there was no alternative. We had previously sent our luggage on board. Our kind friends, Mr. and Mrs. Davis, to whom we are under great obligations, accompanied us to the schooner. The wind was fine, and we soon lost sight of Detroit. We entered Lake St. Clair, about 9 o'clock A. M. At 2 P. M. we grounded on a sand bar, as did another vessel in company. After several hours labor the vessel was got off and we kept on our way till dark, when fearing we should again get on shoals, we came to anchor. This lake which is about 30 miles square, is full of shoals which are constantly shifting so as to render the navigation quite difficult.

We have pleasant company on board, though we fear they lack the one thing needful. Among the company are two officers of the army going to Green Bay. We have endeavored to make a profitable use of our time, but feel the loss of public worship. When we sat down to eat I proposed to give thanks to God to which all assented. Read in *Mr. Judson's Memoirs*, Prayers, and the Bible.

November 1. Started with a fine breeze this morning and soon got through the lake. St. Clair River, which we are now entered is about the same size as the Detroit River—the bank generally inhabited. *Evening* came to anchor 15 miles below Fort Gratiot.²⁴ Lieut. and M.²⁵ went on shore and hired horses to take them to the fort. I went on shore and procured some fine apples of a French lady.

November 2. Lake Huron. We lay at anchor last evening in St. Clair River, there not being wind enough to enable the vessel to stem the current. I went on shore to the house of a Frenchman and procured some apples, for which his lady generously declined receiving any payment. She also sent us some milk in the morning. We passed Fort Gratiot, a military post, situated at a narrow part of the river, about half a mile below the Lake. It is here that there is a considerable descent of the water, forming a rapid which requires a considerable wind to pass. I cannot describe the sensations I felt on entering Lake Huron. A lake near 300 miles in length and 100

²⁴The site of Fort Gratiot, located on the St. Clair River below the entrance of Lake Huron, is today in Port Huron. It was built by Captain Charles Gratiot in 1814 to block the threatened attack of the Indians and Canadians on Detroit during the War of 1812.

²⁵I have been unable to identify the lieutenant and M.

miles in breadth. Several officers from the fort came on board and accompanied us 8 or 10 miles. Soon after they left the wind began to increase and in the course of the night raised the waves to a considerable height. We discovered that the vessel was leaking very fast—a fact which somewhat appalled us and induced the captain to determine to put back unless the leak could be discovered. Providentially it was found and stopped.

[November] 3. Still on Lake Huron. The waves like ocean waves cause the vessel to roll and pitch badly—most on board seasick.

[November] 4. Towards evening we discovered land, and soon after dark passed the lighthouse on [northern end of Bois Blanc] Island. Arrived at Mackinac at half past eight in the evening. We were preparing to go on shore when Mr. Ferry²⁶ came on board and gave us a welcome. We went with him to the house of R. Stuart, Esq.²⁷ where we found a number of friends. After our arrival at the Mission House united in a hymn of praise and thanksgiving and prayers.

[November] 5. Employed in getting our baggage on shore and writing a letter to send by a vessel ready to sail. In the evening attended a prayer meeting. A few only were present. I trust I felt a little of the spirit of prayer—resolved to live nearer to God.

[November] 6. Sabbath. Attended the Sabbath School under the Superintendence of Mr. Heydenburg [Heydenburk].²⁸ The general appearance was favorable. At 11 Mr. Ferry preached from the words of Paul, Lord what will thou have me to do. —After dinner spent a short time in conversing with Elizabeth,²⁹ the Indian woman of whom mention has been made in the *Missionary Herald*.

²⁶The Reverend William Montague Ferry. For an accurate account of Ferry and his activities at the Mackinac mission, see Janet White, "William Montague Ferry and the Protestant Mission on Mackinac Island," in *Michigan History*, 32:340-51 (March, 1948).

²⁷Robert Stuart was the resident manager of the American Fur Company on Mackinac Island and prominent in Presbyterian church affairs.

²⁸Martin Heydenburk was appointed schoolteacher at the mission in 1824 and remained there till 1833. Besides being a teacher, he was a skillful carpenter and built, almost single handed, the church and the mission house.

²⁹Elizabeth was an Ojibwa from the south shore of Lake Superior. In 1830 she was about 45 years of age. Ferry took her into the mission after she tried to commit suicide. Her conversion to Christianity was vividly described by Ferry in the *Missionary Herald*, 25:154-58 (May, 1829), a periodical which was first published in 1808 as the *Panoplist*.

She has long been confined to her bed, and probably must soon leave this world. She appeared perfectly resigned—said she was quite willing to die, or to live. I afterwards spent an hour in relating (through an interpreter) to a company of 15 or 18 Indians, who usually assemble for religious instruction, the great events that have transpired at the Sandwich Islands. We have preaching again in the evening.

[November] 8. Took charge of the boys school. Number of scholars about 70.

[November] 14. Sabbath. While conversing with the children of my class at the Sabbath School this morning, one of them appeared considerably affected, and wept freely. Read to the School the story of Mary L. who had a "Shroud" instead of a new "Frock," and afterwards addressed the children of the School. Was myself much affected. But I have had little or no enjoyment this day in public worship. My mind was continually on worldly subjects, and although I often fix my thoughts on heaven, they were as often turned away. Oh, how irreverently have I acted. How much sin have I committed. Forgive me oh Lord my strength and my redeemer. Help me to humble myself before thee.

[November] 19. Took tea at the house of Robert Stuart, Esq. Mr. S. is the Agent of the American Fur Company, and a pious man. We had been there but a short time when Mr. [Henry R.] Schoolcraft, a gentleman well known to the Literary world from his writings on the History and character of the Indians, called in. He had just arrived in a boat from the Sault de St. Marie, where he resides. I had some conversation with him in regards to the language of the Indians. He considers the language of all the Northern tribes as of one common origin.

[November] 24. The Indian woman Elizabeth, who has been confined to her bed for several years, expired last evening. An interesting account of her conversion is contained in the Missionary Herald for 1829. Her end was peaceful. A few hours before she expired Mr. F[erry] read to her the words of David, "though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil." She replied that she could herself adopt that language. Her funeral was attended today by the members of the family and some of the inhabitants.

[November] 12. Thanksgiving, by recommendation of the Governor. It is remarkable that although the day has been celebrated in the Territory for several years preceeding, yet this is the first instance in which the Govs. Proclamation reached Mackinaw till after the event. Mr. Ferry preached on the occasion. The Schooner *Aurora*³⁰ arrived from Detroit. Received newspapers, but am disappointed in not receiving letters. Expect no other arrival till the express³¹ in Jan. next.

³⁰The schooner *Aurora* belonged to the mission and was used to carry supplies to Mackinac Island.

³¹During the winter months when navigation was closed mail was carried overland to Mackinac Island. These mail deliveries were called expresses.

A Frenchman Views Sault Ste Marie

*From L. de Cotton's A Travers le Dominion et les Etats-Unis
Translated and with an Introduction by Georges Joyaux*

FROM L. DE COTTON'S *A TRAVERS LE DOMINION ET LES ETATS-UNIS* the following pages are extracted and translated.¹ Mention of this book was found in Frank Monaghan's *French Travellers in the United States: 1765-1931*.² In the latter work, Monaghan attempted to establish a complete file of all material, in French or in translation, concerning French travelers to the United States. Besides the usual data concerning these various publications (place and date of publication, number of pages and size), Monaghan gives whenever possible information as to the contents of the volumes cited and the libraries where such books can be found.

Quite often, however, the entries only list the bare bibliographical facts; such is the case for de Cotton's travelogue. The book, published in Paris in 1889, relates in 206 pages the adventures of L. de Cotton during a short visit to North America undertaken in 1886. According to Monaghan, only the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris holds a copy of this work. Thus far little is known about de Cotton's life; his account of his travels gives no clue concerning the motives for his trip. Occasionally he mentions friends he intended to visit and his eagerness to see the New World.

The first entry in the diary, dated June 1, 1886, was written in London:

Nothing remarkable to mention at the beginning, except for a certain anxiety caused by my unquestionable lack of proficiency in English . . . I am condemned to ten days at sea. . . .³

¹L. de Cotton's *A Travers le Dominion et les Etats-Unis*, was published in Paris in 1889. The author kept almost a day-by-day diary of his travels, which took him from France to Quebec, the Great Lakes, Chicago, the West Coast, Reno, Ogden, Salt Lake City, Denver, and Saint Louis, where the journal ends. Nothing in the introduction or in the diary itself indicates the purpose of the trip. Out of the 206 pages, those numbered 93 to 99 deal with Michigan.

²Published in New York, 1933. Monaghan has Cotton's *A Travers le Dominion et les Etats-Unis* as entry number 487 in his bibliographical list.

³L. de Cotton, *A Travers le Dominion et les Etats-Unis*, 1, (Paris, 1889).

Three days later, on the evening of June 3, de Cotton sailed on the *Polynésien*, a steamer of the Allan Company, from Liverpool en route for Quebec.

His first contact with English cooking proved rather unsatisfactory, as was the case for many earlier and later travelers to England:

June 4 [1886]. We die of hunger on this awful boat, of hunger and even of thirst. So far I have had only one meal, but if the sobriety of the next one resembles that of last night, I am quite sure I will not be able to contain any longer my indignation, even if I cannot make myself understood. . . .

I have just been called down for breakfast, and I retract half of my accusations. How is it possible that, early in the morning, the gap of English stomachs can be so wide open? It is a mystery. Yet, there cannot be any doubt that this meal is quite different from the one we had last night; still, this morning, not even a glass on the table. Will I have to share with my stomach the amount of water allocated for external use?⁴ After nine days at sea, he added:

June 13 [1886]. I am getting used to English cooking. I drink large glasses of ice cold water and of tea, and I swallow without a word their strong spices; while cursing the barbarous tastes of British throats, I must render justice to the service on board the *Polynésien*; the tables are served with an abundance capable of satisfying the most gargantuan appetites.⁵

The crossing, rather uneventful, took ten days. De Cotton fills his diary with descriptions of his traveling companions, and of the conditions under which the trip was accomplished:

June 12 [1886]. It would be rather fastidious to enumerate all my companions of captivity, from the sophisticated misses to the uninhibited American who puts his feet on the tables, and makes noise during the meal, to the great astonishment of one of my young friends, seated opposite him.⁶

Besides these few "gentlemen" and "ladies" of the higher circles of society—to which he belonged—there were aboard a large number of immigrants who, following the path of their forefathers, were on their way to the American heaven:

June 12 [1886]. In the rear cabins, we were few, and very comfortable, unlike those at the bow. There, immigrants from all the nations of Europe were crowded; Frenchmen, not very many, and rather badly representing their nation; Russians, bearded and dirty; Swedes with multi-

⁴Cotton, *A Travers* . . . , 10.

⁵Cotton, *A Travers* . . . , 15.

⁶Cotton, *A Travers* . . . , 14.

colored garments; large-headed Germans with harl-like hair; ragged Irishmen; a few insolent Englishmen, etc. . . . All those people look miserable. Many faces, which despite all breathe energy, exhibit now melancholic smiles, and at times tears and far-away glances can be seen.⁷

Other entries in the diary attest to the author's intense religious feelings—as do many other remarks scattered throughout the book:

June 12 [1886]. This morning, a day of fast, I did not come down for lunch. Worriedness of the waiters, who immediately come to inquire about my health, soon followed by my neighbors at the table. I tried to make them understand my reasons, but I do not think I succeeded. As for the fast on Friday, this surprised the Canadian traveler more than anybody else. I am, he said, the first Frenchman, whom he saw fasting on Friday, and he thought that abstinence was no longer practised in France, except maybe by a few old devout ladies. M. C. was amazed when I told him that among my acquaintances four fifths at least, respected the laws of the Church, and that the mass of our peasant population acted likewise.⁸

Landing at Levis, a port of Quebec, on the evening of June 13, de Cotton spent a few days traveling throughout eastern and central Canada. He seemed particularly interested by the landmarks of the earlier French missionaries, and established many contacts with French missions. Then he proceeded to the Great Lakes area, from which portion of the book these pages are extracted, and spent some days in and around Chicago. Going west by train, he devoted some pages to San Francisco—of which he gave a very interesting description—and Sacramento. Commenting on American railroads, he declared:

I am not as enthusiastic as many others concerning [them]. Naturally, in the Pullman cars, one is very comfortable at night; every traveler has his own little room, separated from the others by movable partitions; the beds are excellent, everything is perfect. But, let us turn to the common traveler, the one who travels in first class. Much is said of the fact that he has, for his different needs ice cold water and private apartments. I must admit that I have never heard anybody in France complain of the absence of such comfort, and for sure, in view of the sad condition of the train stations, this comfort is indispensable in America. I appreciate better the stoves during the winter: there are two of them for each car. In these huge cars—with fifty seats or more—you can rarely be in peace: children scream, people discuss loudly or laugh heartily. We are told that the traveler who has a cramp can take a walk from one end of the

⁷Cotton, *A Travers* . . . , 14.

⁸Cotton, *A Travers* . . . , 14.

train to the other; no doubt, this is fine, but as a result, he who does not take a walk is continuously disturbed, day and night, by these walkers. What I praise without any reserve are the rest rooms . . . when there are any. . . . The Pullman cars seem to have the monopoly of those. . . .⁹

On his return trip, de Cotton stopped successively at Reno, Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Denver, before reaching St. Louis where he wrote the last entry of his travelogue on September 23, 1886. In this last entry, the author tells of his plan to sail from New Orleans on his return trip to France. He also discloses that he has only a few days to remain in the United States.

Summing up his four and a half months adventure throughout the North American continent, he declared:

My journal suddenly comes to an end at Saint Louis. Written day by day, these notes do not pretend to be a study of North America, and were not intended for publication. When he was writing these impressions, the traveler only intended to chat with his family, and was only looking for the pleasure of living every evening with his family; thus, when the hour of departure was near, the pen had a right to take a rest.

But if I admit not to have brought back from a trip of four and a half months the elements of a serious study, why then roam throughout the world in such a manner, they will ask me? Is it not a waste of money and energy, just to satisfy a futile curiosity? Well, do not be too harsh, reader, for after crossing twice this huge continent and after comparing with one another so many grand sites—rich or barren—I have discovered what I was hardly looking for, that is that the most beautiful country in the world is the one where one is loved, and for that discovery, I do not think I have paid too high a price.¹⁰

SAULT SAINTE MARIE

L. de Cotton

July 24 [1886]. The forty hours crossing from Manitowaning to Sault Sainte Marie takes one amidst one of the countries of the world the most pleasing to the eyes—*islands, more islands, and wooded shores.* You might think that, in the long run, such sights would become boring? Well, either because of a favorable disposition of my mind or because of the particular attraction of a nice day, at any rate, I escaped that boredom. Certain passages in narrow bays are of remarkable beauty, especially

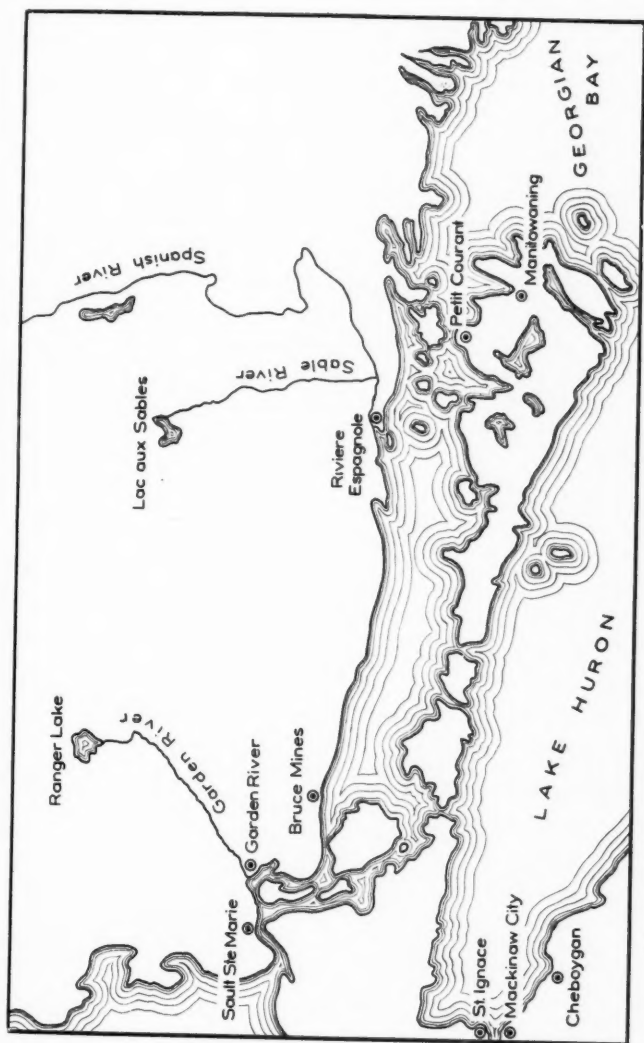
⁹Cotton, *A Travers* . . . , 151-152.

¹⁰Cotton, *A Travers* . . . , 206.

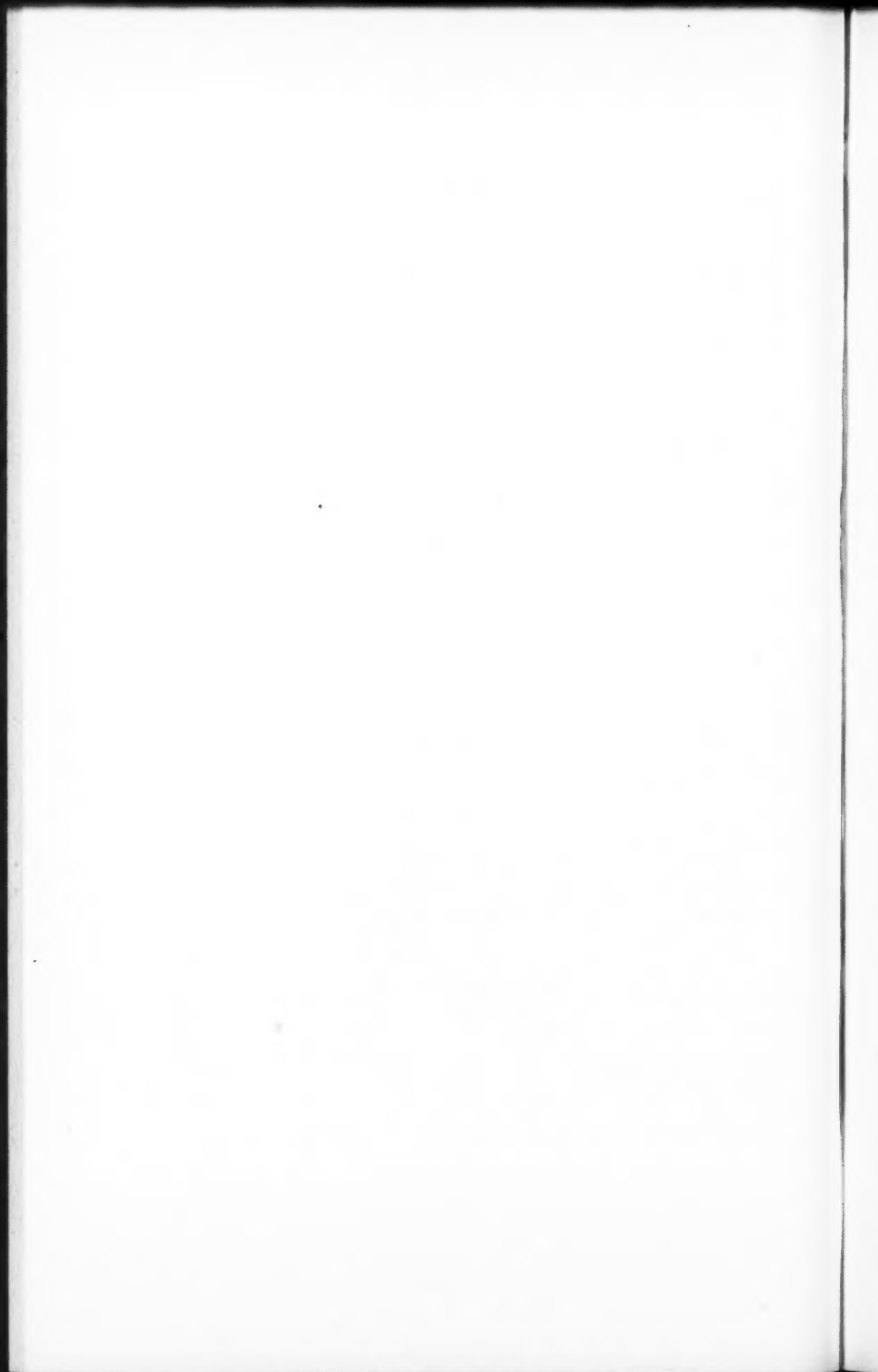
when nearing Saint Mary's River, the northern shore becomes mountainous. One of these bays was baptized Devil's Gap, no doubt, on account of that habit which men have of seeing the devil wherever nature offers a tormented aspect. Alas! The Devil must have been able to gather quite a few squadrons indeed in these regions; there are pitiless reefs for the ships which abandon the narrow channel, marked as it is by buoys. Nothing reveals their presence, and the waves of the lake, far less charitable than those of the sea, do not indicate them by surrounding them with foam. As a result, how many shipwrecks! The annals of the Great Lakes are far more somber than those of the ocean. The ship on which I am traveling was once the victim of the storm's anger, but no one could guess upon seeing her so coquettish that her carcass was recovered from the bottom of Lake Superior. Our captain was shipwrecked ten years ago with another vessel on Lake Huron, and escaped disaster by swimming. We meet, in the channel itself, a ship aground, which they are trying to get afloat again. This boat was the victim of a collision. When I consider the narrowness of the channel I am surprised that accidents of this kind are not more numerous.

It is true, however, that boats travel this area only in daytime. A great deal of money has been spent already to dig this furrow, so no wonder they hesitate to broaden it. Yet it will have to be done some day in order to keep pace with the continuously increasing trade dependent on this waterway. Boats go down to the lower part of Lake Superior to load with products from the West, which they bring up to Montreal, and even to Europe, following the lakes, the canal, and its prolongation, the Saint Lawrence. Thus, one must foresee for France days still darker than the ones she is going through now. This perspective of the sufferings which will bring the old world to its agony in a doomed future—however far we try to postpone it—brings no gay thoughts to my mind. I cannot, however, prevent myself from being interested. Thus I cannot accustom myself to the sight of these fires lighted on all sides in the forests; there are always four or five of them burning on our horizon. At night they attract our attention by their large reddish marks; in the daytime, by huge clouds of smoke. That is how the great trees are disappearing, little by little, to be replaced by worthless species.

As civilization advances, game withdraws; there is hardly any of it left in the forests around Lake Huron, and the Indians either settle or migrate toward the northwest. But the remembrance of their great hunting parties will long survive preserved as they are by the names the savages have given to the theatres of their former exploits. Indian hunting parties are not like ours; the use of rifles is the exception, not the rule. Animals are almost all caught by means of traps. Redskins make different types of traps for each kind of animal, and at regular times go and check their catches. There is practically no instance of a rival hunter robbing them of their catch. Indeed, it is agreed by custom that the first to discover



ROUTE TRAVELED BY L. de COTTON, MANIOWANING TO SAULT STE MARIE



traces of a beaver marks the bark of a neighboring tree to indicate and to insure his ownership of the animal. No one but he will be allowed to attempt to trap the beaver. Obviously the Indians think that a beaver is as good as dead once his den has been discovered. The same is not true of the bear, if one believes the classical authors.

The many stations scattered on the bay do not offer much of interest. One of them almost put a sudden end to my trip in this world. Petit Courant has two landing piers where the boat alternately docks. During the forty-five minutes halt between their arrival and departure, the travelers can go for a walk, which they do with great pleasure. The boat was nearing the embarkation pier, and I was waiting for it at the end of the pier; somebody passing behind me whispered some words which I did not understand, but which I thought must be advice and without exactly knowing why, I moved away. I had left the spot where I was standing only a few seconds when the steamer, mistaking its speed and its direction, rammed into the wooden structure and ripped the huge beams to pieces. I barely escaped being one of the pieces.

Another post became the nucleus of a French colony, after taking its original name of Rivière Espangole from the migration of another race.

Through a strange association of ideas, the Canadians called *desert* a cleared land, that is to say, cleared of its trees; they also call it *jardin*, so that *jardin* and *desert* have now become synonymous. One of the Canadian stations we passed is called, accordingly, Garden River.

Before landing at Garden River, we stopped at Bruce Mines. About twelve years ago, a great deal of copper was extracted from these mines. One day, the badly timbered tunnel fell in, burying 400,000 *tonnes* of copper ore already all extracted, though fortunately not a single worker was buried. The respect of the Sabbath saved them. The company, after an estimate of the repairs, preferred to abandon the whole enterprise. Thus beside the huge piles of scoria thrown out of the blast furnaces, you can see endless rotting hangars, tall stacks, rusting railways, and all kinds of machines that no one thinks of ever using slowly being destroyed by the winter. When the factories failed, the prosperity of the rapidly developing village came to a sudden end, and one can count today more than a hundred houses emptied of their inhabitants.

We stop once more, this time opposite a fishing boat; two fishermen have lifted their nets from the water and are busy gathering the fishes. Since Saint Peter and the miraculous fishing, nothing has ever been seen comparable to fishing in Lake Huron. I hear people estimate at two *tonnes* the weight of the fish gathered at one time in the net, and I am not at all surprised by this estimate. The fish is sold for 3 or 4 *sous* a pound. I am told of a merchant from Sandwich, a town near Detroit, who buys several thousand *tonnes* of it, freezes it through a special process, and keeps his stock until Lent, at which time he sells it with great profit. Our steward throws an empty bag to the boatmen, who

hand it back to him full of large trout and other tasty fishes.

Do not be astonished if we stop so often, if we seem to play truant. The reason is that our boat is full of excursionists. A tour of the lake has become quite fashionable in America. As a result, there is more animation and a greater variety of types aboard, but crowds do not agree with me. At nightfall, what can be done with this crowd? First they attempt music—a pity! Then chorus, monochords, refrains seem to repeat endlessly “Corned beef! Corned beef!” There cannot be any doubt that these people are musicians at heart [to the teeth]. Music does not work, so our captain, a good jolly fellow with a frog-like mouth, tries to organize a dance. Vainly the waltz sounds its appealing accents. Neither is a polka successful. When the quadrille [square dance] is launched, they finally get up. Tall young men with precocious blood-spavins, grab with the tips of their thin fingers a few misses with short hair, in the style of our college students. That is it; they are gone. Do they have fun? I think so, since from time to time the girls utter short cries, but they do not show it, and since I do not enjoy myself either, I withdraw to my quarters.

What interested me more than these pickled-in-vinegar gentlemen were the huge trees on the shore. They will be floated in large rafts and, the clemency of the lake permitting, will reach some sawmill. However, storms quite often break these log rafts apart; even when they are still tied to the pier, the tree trunks are shaken in such a way that rubbing strips and thins them of several centimeters¹¹ of girth.

Were I to tell you that the Sault Sainte Marie is a narrow passage linking Lake Superior to Lakes Michigan and Huron, I would not tell you anything new. The Sault is a drop of fifteen feet. The river serves as a boundary between Canada and the States. At the bottom of the falls, each country has a growing colony; yet, while on the Canadian side this colony is only an Indian village without a future, on the American side there was founded about ten years ago a town, still small today, but which the fairies have promised will outrank Chicago some day. These prophecies are not as sure as those made to Abraham and Jacob; it is clear, nevertheless, that the Sault prepares itself in the best possible way for its high destinies.

The canal, built to bypass the unpassable rapids, is the most beautiful in the whole world for its breadth and the perfection of its material. . . . Yet, it is so crowded and commerce is so active that there is talk of digging a second canal, still broader, by the side of the first one. I say a second one, though it will be the third in fact, but the oldest one far too complicated is practically never used. The new one, on the contrary, is simple enough for two men to insure its good functioning. However, instead of these two men, I have noticed a whole army in uniform.

¹¹Three centimeters equals 1.18 inches.

Well! Well! in Republics, is it not expected for friend to live at the expense of the public? I was especially struck by the system permitting water to go from one section to the other. In Europe, I have seen many locks, all built on the same principle; in the lower part of the doors there are two holes which can be opened and through which the water rushes. Nothing similar here. The water escapes through a series of openings located at the very bottom of the channel, and comes out on the other side of the doors by means of a syphon. Upstream it works the other way around. Two syphons bring the water to the series of emptying holes. This way, there are no currents, and the speed of the emptying is much higher. When the valves are opened, the huge sproutings in the lower section are beautiful to look at.

To outrank Chicago, the Sault counts, beside its canals, on its future water power. There is talk of diverting the water of the rapids and of directing the flow of Lake Superior toward a chute which will give—it is maintained—the most colossal mechanical power known in the world. Americans always dream on a large scale. Meanwhile, until the realization of this Castle in the air, the colony suffers. The soil is of an everlasting fertility; but, what is the use of it? The climate is such that crops cannot always ripen; furthermore, when they come to maturity, the inhabitants do not know what to do with them; they need railways. Well! Do you think they are concerned with building one? What a silly concept! They want only four of them: one toward Marquette, one toward Minneapolis, and two others going South; needless to say, there would be a branch which, crossing the rapids on a suspension bridge, would link with the Canadian Pacific. On the Canadian shore where people are less ambitious, they only aim at one railroad, along the shores of the lake, a railroad which in fact is near completion.

The climate and the lack of means of transportation are not the only curses. The inhabitants are overcome with taxes. Catholics, besides the common impositions, have their own taxes. They contribute their share to the upkeep of the Protestants and to the functioning of the schools. But, if they insist upon having priests of their own cult and churches, if they do not like the idea of their children attending mixed schools, they are free to engage in these luxuries on their own. In Canada, Catholics and Protestants each pay for their church and their schools; that is the difference! This poor administration of public affairs, which ruins the mass of the people and enriches the functionaries, only represents one facet of the moral misery. The abuse of alcoholic beverages is another one. There are no less than forty cabarets—all of them prosperous—in the Sault, for a total of three thousand souls. They are called salons, and not only do they drain the money of the farmers, but they drain that of the lumbermen in the woods and of the workers in the town as well.

The Americans did not like the name given to their town by the missionaries, so they call it Fort Brady. "Where is the fort then?" I asked. They showed me a wooden house, inhabited by about fifty soldiers, and, in a meadow close to the river, six small cannons, which six peaceful cows would advantageously replace. The only work of these federal soldiers and of their artillery is to fire one shot at sunrise and one at sundown. There is not even an echo to profit from the racket. I was told that it would not be wise to insult, even with a justifiable joke, the military sentiment of the inhabitants. They push it so far as to plan the building of a more imposing fort on a hill back of the town.

One third of the population of Fort Brady is Catholic; the rest, which is Protestant, enlarges the ranks of the three secret societies of America: the Free-masons, the Knights of Pythias, and the Odd Fellows. There is a great choice. The Catholics have a nice church, made of brick. It was built about eight years ago, under the direction of Father Chartier, the Superior of the two Jesuits of the mission. One of them remains at the post; such is his lot. The other travels throughout the country preaching the Holy Gospel to those all along the coast entrusted to his zeal.

Sault Sainte Marie deserves special mention, for it was one of the first posts evangelized by the Jesuits. There, Father Jogues¹² pitched his tent as early as 1642. This holy man is one of those who suffered martyrdom for their faith. Captured by the Iroquois for the first time, he remained their prisoner during fifteen months. These savages tortured him in many different ways: they bit the phalanxes of his fingers; they drove splinters of wood into his flesh; they had their dogs eat on his stomach, etc. . . . They captured him a second time at Trois Rivières, near Lake Saint Pierre, where Father Jogues had been forced to go in order to get some food in 1646. There, they murdered him at Penetanguishene. A brother, his companion, had the same fate. The remains of the martyr were recovered a short time ago, and a nice church erected at the very spot where he won his last victory. The project of canonization of the two saints has been placed before Rome; the names of Father Lalemant¹³ and Father Brébeuf,¹⁴ martyrs also, have been added to the

¹²Father Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit missionary, was born in Orleans on January 10, 1607. He served the Huron Indians on the shores of Georgian Bay, south of Lake Huron, and established a mission on the River Wye. He was captured by hostile Iroquois and carried captive to central New York where he was tortured. Rescued by the Dutch at Fort Orange (Albany) he was taken to New Amsterdam (now New York City) hence to Brittany which he reached on Christmas Day, 1643. He returned to Canada and two years later the governor sent him to negotiate a treaty with the Iroquois. As an ambassador he was safe. Upon his return, he asked and received permission to return to the Iroquois to preach to them. His party of Hurons and others fled except Lalonde. Jogues was killed October 18, 1646 at Ossernenon, now Auriesville, New York. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 8:420 (New York, 1910); and *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10:74-75 (New York, 1933).

¹³Father Gabriel Lalemant was born in Paris, October 10, 1610, and died in the Huron country March 17, 1649. In 1646 he was assigned to the Huron

application; similarly was added the name of Catherine Tetakouita, a young Iroquois virgin. The latter suffered persecution in the name of justice, more especially at the hands of one of her uncles, a bad man, but I do not have many details on this matter; the only thing I know is that she was born at the same place where Father Jogues suffered martyrdom, and that she died at about the same time as he did. When they are canonized, these five persons will be the first ones that America has given to the Catholic calendar.

Other Fathers have been famous; among them all, Father Marquette¹⁵ stands especially high; he has his statue at Saint Ignace point, and a town on Lake Superior was named after him. Quite recently, an Alsatian, Father Kohler—after a life which will, no doubt, be written out, and in comparison with which, *The Odyssey* will turn pale—perished miserably in a wreck in Lake Huron. How many others, from Father du Ranquet to Father Baudin—with whom I traveled for a few hours yesterday—must die in order to find rest! Once they are engaged in Indian missions it is for life, and it is easy to understand why; Indian languages are so difficult! Let's look at their verbs for example: They have the passive, the active, the neuter, the interrogative, and the dubitative conjugation; worse than that, the form changes entirely according to the regime—whether it be noble or common—according to the subject, and according to the relations of the verb with its subject! This complication would seem to indicate a highly developed civilization. Indeed, a primitive people would be satisfied with simple expressions, reduced to a strictly essential vocabulary; never would it dream of such subtle distinctions. No doubt we will always remain conjectural on this very point. At any rate, when a man has overcome such stupendous difficulties as offered by French and English, and furthermore he has the mastery of two or three Indian languages, his superiors exploit his knowledge as long as his life lasts. When knowledge is missing, it is necessary

mission with its center at Sault Sainte Marie as Jean de Brebeuf's assistant. Captured with de Brebeuf in 1648 by the Iroquois, he was taken to St. Ignace where he died after being horribly tortured. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 8:752 (New York, 1910).

¹⁴Jean de Brebeuf (1593-1649) returned with Champlain to Quebec in 1633. See *Michigan Historical Collections*, 8:370 (Lansing, 1885). In 1646 he was placed in charge of the Huron mission in Sault Sainte Marie. When the Iroquois attacked the missions in 1648 both de Brebeuf and his assistant, Lalemant, were captured and put to death. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2:752 (New York, 1907).

¹⁵Jacques Marquette, missionary and discoverer of the Mississippi River, was born in Laon, France, in 1636, and died near Ludington in 1675. He served at Trois Rivières, Sault Sainte Marie, and La Pointe. There he heard of the Mississippi River from the Illinois Indians. With Louis Jolliet and five voyageurs, he left St. Ignace on May 17, 1673. They floated down the river as far as the Arkansas. Feeling certain that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and being fearful of enemies further down the river, they turned back. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 9:690 (New York, 1910).

to resort to translators; how can confessions be possible in such cases? Predication itself becomes almost impossible. I do not recall which Father who, little acquainted with the language, was preaching with the help of an interpreter who translated a phrase at a time. The Father said: "Le Bon Dieu aime beaucoup la chasteté (God is very fond of chastity)." The other, ignoring both the sense of the word and the practice, translated: "Chasse d'été. (Summer hunting)." Incredulous laughter of the Indians and astonishment of the missionary followed, until the whole thing was explained. I was told of several examples showing how God chooses, in order to better impress men, prodigies best adapted to their character. In the Old World miracles have to be extraordinary cures. In the New World, such prodigies would not affect the indigenous elements. Something to do with hunt or fishing will be far more appropriate. Father Point¹⁶, who died about twenty years ago, was in the Rocky Mountains. The Indians came to tell him that they were on the last of their food. "Come to Mass tomorrow morning," he said, "and afterwards go hunting." It was done accordingly. The buffalos, which had disappeared long ago, reappeared, and 153 of them were killed—exactly the number of fishes caught by Saint Pierre. On another occasion, while Winnipeg was still a small village, the Indians were also in a very sad condition. They received a similar invitation to attend Mass and to pray for the return of the game. The Mass was not even finished when there was heard the characteristic noise caused by the trampling around the church of a herd of buffaloes. One of them even dared to cross the gates of the Temple. "Since God has fulfilled your wish," the priest declared, "go ahead, make use of his gifts with moderation, and kill only what you need." I do not know if his words were heard that time; at any rate, the Indians soon forgot them and buffaloes were slaughtered later in such large numbers that their race has now vanished.

¹⁶Father Nicholas Point was born in Rocroy, France, in 1799, and died at Quebec on July 4, 1868. As a Jesuit missionary in the western part of the United States "he had a part in the romantic attempt made by the Jesuits in the forties to evangelize the Rocky Mountain tribes." Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 2:456 (New York, 1938).

Politics in Ann Arbor during the Civil War

George S. May

THE FACT THAT FROM 1861 TO 1865 THE COUNTRY WAS involved in a civil war made national politics more savage than in peacetime. This also was true of local politics in Ann Arbor during this period. Talk and some active effort to wipe out party lines had little effect during the course of the war except for very brief intervals of emergencies so pressing that even the politicians had to think first of the best interests of their country, and not of their party.

The presidential campaign of 1860 was in some respects a prelude to the Civil War in both its military and political aspects. The campaign in Ann Arbor was as bitter as one could expect. In a decided understatement one writer declared that "politics were extremely hot in 1859 and 1860."

Some of the students at the University of Michigan actively campaigned in the city and county.¹ There were all shades of political belief represented among them and in the city as a whole. There were a few Southern students enrolled at the University of Michigan but presumably they did little campaigning although John Breckenridge, the Southern Democratic candidate, received fifty-six votes in Washtenaw County, thirteen of which came from Ann Arbor. When the New York delegation to the Republican convention in Chicago passed through the city, Andrew D. White prevailed on them to stop for a few minutes while he introduced William Evarts to the crowd of students and townspeople.²

The three weekly papers fought it out tooth and nail during the summer and fall. The *Michigan State News* and the *Journal* were Republican papers. The *Michigan Argus* was Democratic. A year later a third Republican weekly appeared, the *Peninsular Courier*. Despite the fact that it was outnumbered three to one during the war, the *Argus* seemed to hold its own quite well, for the three

¹George D. Chaffee, "Old Times at Michigan," in *Michigan History*, 11:25 (January, 1927).

²William H. Beadle, "Ascendate," in the *Michigan Alumnus*, 9:244 (March, 1903).

Republican papers never could agree among themselves and the residents of Ann Arbor at this time were generally Democratic.

When the returns of the election were in, however, Lincoln led the Republican party to a smashing victory not only in the county as a whole but in Ann Arbor as well. The *Journal* printed the news in as close an approach to modern headlines as the papers of those days ever came. But the Republican bird which was shown lustily crowing over the victory was rather a small one and so the thoughtful editor of the *Michigan Argus*, Elihu B. Pond, donated his own Democratic rooster. "Please use the noble bird," he wrote in an explanatory letter, "and return him with feathers unruffled, as we shall have use for him on some more propitious occasion." The *Journal's* editor, Ezra Seaman, acknowledged the gift with thanks.³

The *Michigan Argus* admitted that the Democrats all over the country "were pretty effectually cleaned out." The Democratic ticket was printed upside down save for the candidates for surveyor and state representative, who were elected. The paper sourly declared that the Republicans might as well enjoy their victory in the county since it "was bought and paid for." But, Pond said:

We ain't dead yet. We stand just as many inches in our boots, eat just as much at dinner time, and sleep just as well [at night]. And . . . we propose to continue in the enjoyment of the same blessings until the victory the Republicans have gained shall prove a bootless victory, the patriotic masses of the country return to their first love and reinstate the Democracy in power.⁴

The spring of 1861 meant to most people the beginning of the war but to the politician it meant the annual city elections, the results of which were worthy of more than passing attention as the Democrats bounced back from their bad defeat of the preceding fall to take about half of the offices at stake. Naturally this pleased the Democrats but from the Republicans there were mutterings of foul play and a blast from the *Michigan State News* at the "Slave Democracy," as it called the party, and at its claims of a decisive victory.⁵ But then the firing on Fort Sumter pushed such party matters into the background for a time while all efforts turned

³Ann Arbor *Journal*, November 7, 1860.

⁴*Michigan Argus* (Ann Arbor), November 9, 1860.

⁵*Michigan State News* (Ann Arbor), April 16, 1861.

towards attempts to make the war as short as all hoped it would be.⁶

Even before the war had broken out, however, there had been some effort on the part of Democrats in the state to form a coalition with the Republicans in the spring election and make sure, thereby, that only Union men would be elected to office. The *Michigan State News* sarcastically reported the attempt, which amounted to nothing, saying, "What a gracious offer! ha! ha! What do you think brother Republicans! had we better cave in, and fraternize with these wonderful Union savers?"⁷

With the outbreak of the war there seemed to be a kind of tacit agreement among the parties to call a truce for the time being to interparty strife. But in May the *Michigan Argus* denounced certain statements of Republican Governor Austin Blair relating to slavery and for its criticism, which the paper assured its readers was not political, the governor's home paper denounced the *Argus* "as at heart, and in intent, a black-hearted, cold-blooded traitor." This proved, said the *Argus*, that the truce among parties was expected to be observed only by the Democrats.⁸

Later on in August Republicans in New York and Ohio made proposals of united action to the Democrats of those states, who refused. The *Michigan Argus* reported that several Republicans in the city were bitter about this action of the Democrats and it observed that it seemed that the Democrats, according to the Republican view, were supposed to have no party but were to come into the Republican fold.⁹ This was precisely the point on which the efforts for a Union party ticket generally floundered. One party or the other always suspected that the Union ticket was merely a ruse to lure them over into the camp of the opposite party.

At this time the *Michigan State News* said the Republicans wanted men to join the Union party not as Republicans or Democrats "but as patriots."¹⁰ The *Peninsular Courier*, though it never supported a Union ticket when it was actually proposed in the state or county, chose to quote the words of the late Democratic leader, Stephen

⁶See George S. May, "Ann Arbor and the Coming of the Civil War," in *Michigan History*, 36:241-59 (September, 1952).

⁷*Michigan State News*, February 26, 1861.

⁸*Michigan Argus*, May 24, 1861.

⁹*Michigan Argus*, August 16, 1861.

¹⁰*Michigan State News*, August 29, 1861.

Douglas, who had said at the opening of the war that there were only two parties: "Patriots and Traitors! Those who uphold the Government are patriots and those who oppose it are traitors."¹¹

Very soon, as the spring election of 1862 approached, the Republican papers forgot all about Union parties and unlimbered heavy artillery against the Democrats. At first they referred to the Democratic party as the peace party and worked on that theme for awhile. It was pointed out that those papers in the state which were always complaining about the actions of the national government while they excused similar actions on the part of the rebels as being caused by "military necessity" were all strongly in favor of the Democrats and wanted the government to "offer terms to the rebels."¹²

The Democrats called a state convention March 5 in Detroit to make plans for the coming fall election. The *Michigan Argus* warned that by calling a convention this early the party was laying itself open to further attacks by the Republicans and such was the case.¹³ When the Democrats in Washtenaw County met in the courthouse in Ann Arbor to elect delegates to the March convention, the *Michigan State News* wrote sadly that it "had hoped never to hear the old Court House bell tolled again to call a party meeting" until the war had ended,

but when it sounded the call to party politicians to make war upon the union feelings which up to that time had been predominant in our city, the sound fell like a death knell upon our . . . hearts, and crushed for the moment our high hopes of a glorious future.¹⁴

The *Detroit Tribune and Advertiser* published a letter which seemed to prove the existence in the state of the mysterious and treasonable organization known as the Knights of the Golden Circle and to implicate a number of Democrats as members.¹⁵ The *Detroit Free Press* called the letter a forgery and the *Argus* called the whole charge "ridiculous."¹⁶ Be that as it may, one more accusation was added to those the Republicans flung at the Democrats.

¹¹*Peninsular Courier*, August 27, 1861.

¹²*Peninsular Courier*, March 11, 1862.

¹³*Michigan Argus*, February 21, 1862.

¹⁴*Michigan State News*, March 4, 1862.

¹⁵Quoted in the *Peninsular Courier*, March 25, 1862.

¹⁶*Michigan Argus*, March 21, 1862.

A circular from the Republican state committee, dated March 22, 1862, was printed in the *Journal* and other Republican papers. It admitted that most Democrats had served the country splendidly during the war but charged that their leaders seemed to be

incapable of rising above the most groveling partisanship, or even of divesting themselves of sympathy for traitors! . . . Who ever heard of a Republican traitor? Our ranks do not even contain an apologist for rebellion.

With these facts in mind it was assumed that there was no question how a loyal voter would vote in the coming election.¹⁷ Democrats complained that this seemed a rather underhanded blow but the *Michigan Argus* noted

our contemporaries should remember that having advised and urged the calling and holding of a democratic convention, even before the date of the "recent" circular, they are estopped against complaining of the republican leaders for sounding the alarm and calling for an organization of their party.¹⁸

Thus the *Argus* felt handicapped in its fight but it fought with whatever weapons it had. It called on the Republicans to name names and give positive proof if secret, treasonable Democratic clubs actually existed in the state. But

the fact is these slanderers know of no such order, and can not "spot" the members. The cry is only . . . gotten up to influence the spring election and will not be heard of after Monday next.¹⁹

Under these circumstances the voters went to the polls. A Republican was elected mayor of Ann Arbor while the other offices were split about evenly as in the spring election of the year before.²⁰ The result was rather indecisive, therefore, and almost immediately the *Journal* and the *Michigan State News* joined with the *Michigan Argus* in attacking the *Peninsular Courier*, which had made some charges with regard to the decisive result of whiskey on the election returns. The *Argus*, glad to be off the hotseat for a moment, pointed with considerable satisfaction to the fact that the promised "expose"

¹⁷Quoted in the *Journal*, March 26, 1862.

¹⁸*Michigan Argus*, March 28, 1862. There apparently was some belief that the Republican state committee had changed the date of the circular in order to make it appear as though it was issued only after the Democrats had struck the first blow in breaking the bipartisan truce.

¹⁹*Michigan Argus*, April 4, 1862.

²⁰*Peninsular Courier*, April 8, 1862.

of the Knights of the Golden Circle had, as predicted, not materialized. In fact, "since the night of the 7th day of April a graveyard silence has been preserved, and the great bug-bear will be permitted to rest undisturbed until the Fall election approaches," it declared.²¹

The spring election in 1862 was a mere skirmish compared to what was to come in the fall. In June the Young Men's Republican Convention was held to prepare for the fall campaign in which, members of the convention declared, they would "bear the brunt of the battle." The *Journal* rather contemptuously reported the plans of these young gentlemen, whom it called Young America. It said:

Our old and experienced politician, and all our middle-aged men, who are above thirty-five years of age, may consider themselves laid upon the shelf, as too old and foggyish for active service in the great political battle about to be fought in Washtenaw County.²²

Late in the summer the Democratic State Committee sent a letter to the Republican State Committee proposing the formation of a Union party which would present one ticket to the voters in November. The Republicans refused the offer. The *Michigan State News* reported that the Democratic leaders in the state had "given abundant evidence that they want no Union party except such a one as will destroy the Republican party." In this critical time in the nation's history the paper cared little for parties and "would cheerfully help form a party organization which should include every loyal man." But the Democrats made that impossible, so the Republicans had only one thing to do: "to stand by that organization which stands by the Government."²³

The *Journal* thought the Republican rejection of the offer unwise. As the next best thing to a Union slate it counseled the Republicans not to pick radicals as candidates. There were available plenty of "old line whigs and conservative men, who regard the preservation of the Union and our admirable federal system of government as of

²¹*Michigan Argus*, April 25, 1862.

²²*Journal*, June 18, 1862. The *Journal's* dislike of "Young America" was not moderated any by the fact that Wendell Wiltsie and others on the staff of the *Peninsular Courier* were prominent in the movement, and their paper, which the *Journal* referred to as the *Squirt Gun*, was more or less the official organ of the group.

²³*Michigan State News*, September 9, 1862.

more consequence to the country than the abolition of slavery."²⁴

The *Michigan Argus*, much as it said it hated the idea, at first saw no other course open but for the Democrats to nominate a slate of candidates and proceed to fight the campaign. But then it heard that all the Republicans were not behind their own state organization in rejecting the Union party idea, so the newspaper cagely advised the Democrats to await results.²⁵ This proved wise advice for within a week reports came of a meeting of men from both parties at Jackson to work out some kind of Union ticket, "avoid an excited political campaign, promote harmony of feeling among the people, and aid the government in the vigorous prosecution of the war." The *Journal* said these aims were "noble and patriotic" and the movement seemed "very popular."²⁶

The week after a call went out to "every friend of the Union" to attend a meeting in Ann Arbor, September 29, to select a slate of delegates to the People's State Union Convention at Jackson. The call was signed by over two hundred prominent citizens of the county including many well-known Republicans.²⁷ The *Peninsular Courier* observed that these men had signed this paper in the belief that they were eliminating party strife but actually all they were doing was raising another party banner thus making a three-party, instead of a two-party race. "The Republican Ticket is in the field with a platform broad enough for all true patriots to stand upon," it said.²⁸

The People's State Union Convention was held in Jackson on the appointed date. Ezra Seaman of the *Journal* took a very active part in it as the chairman of the committee which drew up the resolutions expressing the stand of the convention on great national issues. These resolutions were not surprising in character. They stressed the necessity of the union of people of all parties who were devoted to the Constitution and the Union. It was only when the resolutions condemned the government for containing too many "ambitious partizan politicians and philanthropists"²⁹ that they revealed the

²⁴*Journal*, September 10, 1862.

²⁵*Michigan Argus*, September 12, 1862.

²⁶*Journal*, September 17, 1862.

²⁷*Journal*, September 24, 1862.

²⁸*Peninsular Courier*, September 26, 1862.

²⁹*Journal*, October 1, 1862.

antiabolitionist leanings of some of the members of the convention. These opinions were further revealed in the meeting when some hardy soul introduced a resolution endorsing the recent Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln. The *Peninsular Courier* observed in amusement:

This was evidently not a part of the programme, and the efforts to choke down the mover of the resolution and prevent its being read in the convention were persisted in with an energy and earnestness worthy of a better cause.

The motion was eventually laid on the table.³⁰ "The fact was," said the *Michigan State News*, "the convention was under the control of cunning and sagacious politicians of the Democratic party."³¹

Although this charge came from a Republican paper, it shortly appeared to have had some foundation in truth since the Democratic State Convention meeting on October 8, 1862, about a week after the People's State Union Convention at Jackson, adopted practically without change the complete ticket of the earlier convention. The *Michigan Argus*, which professed to have been in the dark about the People's State Union movement, now declared it was pleased at the action of the Democrats and urged all Democrats to rally behind this Union-Democrat ticket since it was a good, conservative one, "which every true Union man can support with confidence."³²

In the bitter campaign which ensued, the four papers of Ann Arbor were evenly divided. The *Journal* moved into the camp of the *Michigan Argus* although it attempted to please everyone by printing the Republican ticket in one column and the Union-Democratic ticket in another. The latter party had nominated as its candidate for Congress the incumbent Republican representative, Bradley F. Granger. The *Peninsular Courier*, after looking over his distinctly conservative voting record in Congress, declared that it feared "Mr. Granger never was at heart a true Republican, but only for the spoils of office. He was formerly a Democrat and voted with that party as long as there was any hope of office."³³ In contrast with this

³⁰*Peninsular Courier*, October 2, 1862.

³¹*Michigan State News*, October 7, 1862.

³²*Michigan Argus*, October 10, 1862.

³³*Peninsular Courier*, October 16, 1862. Bradley F. Granger had been the Democratic candidate for county clerk in 1852 and was defeated. In 1856 he ran for judge of probate on the Republican ticket and was elected.

turncoat the Republicans had nominated a true Republican, John W. Longyear, who spoke at the courthouse in Ann Arbor on October 17. He was "a fearless advocate of the policy of President Lincoln." The Union men professed to support Lincoln also, but the Republicans noted that at the same time they denounced his actions. "Mr. Longyear showed up these no-policy men in an exceedingly plain manner." Here was a man, said the *Michigan State News*, that all loyal voters could support.³⁴

The following Tuesday evening, October 21, the Union candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor, Byron Stout and Halmer H. Emmons, spoke before a large audience in the courthouse. Stout, it was reported, came out strongly for the Constitution and against freeing the slaves at this time. The *Michigan Argus* declared, "Mr. Stout is an able, eloquent, conservative man, not tinctured with the least particle of abolitionism, but just such a man as is wanted in the gubernatorial chair of Michigan." He held his audience for an hour and a half, the silence "only broken by rapturous applause." Emmons then gave the radicals a terrible tongue-lashing. Indeed, said the *Argus*, "a few more such speeches as these and radicalism in this city will 'give up the ghost.'"³⁵

The *Michigan State News* scoffed at this. The Union ticket was made up of Democrats, misled Republicans, and politicians who were bitter at the Republicans because they had not gotten the jobs they had wanted. An example of this latter type was "poor old snivelled up Hal [Emmons] . . . It was impossible to get Republicans to vote for that wrinkled old granny and now he is abusing them for it." The *News* hoped the Republicans had enough sense and principle "to rally once more to save the country from a disaster so horrible to contemplate, and so dreadful in the reality as the reorganization and triumph of the Democratic party."³⁶

Finally there came the election eve instructions to the voters. The *Journal* deplored the fact that the parties could not have agreed on one ticket. It stated its position once more, declared that all the candidates were well known, urged all voters to go to the polls and vote according to the dictates of their conscience, and hastily dropped

³⁴*Michigan State News*, October 21, 1862.

³⁵*Michigan Argus*, October 24, 1862.

³⁶*Michigan State News*, October 28, 1862.

the whole delicate subject.³⁷ The *Peninsular Courier* instructed the Republicans to

have a committee in each township and ward whose business it shall be to see that every voter is at the polls. Vote early and then spend the day in working for your country. . . . Who will vote the Union Ticket next Tuesday?

it asked and then answered its own question: only traitors, rebel sympathizers, and cowards.³⁸ The *Michigan Argus* delivered the following clarion call to its readers:

Democrats of Washtenaw! You have magnanimously thrown partisanship aside at this important crisis, in order to help rescue your country in the hour of her need . . . ! Conservative Republican and Union men of Washtenaw rally to the polls on the fourth of November, and assist in rescuing the country from the perils and danger that environ her. Rally and rescue your State from the misrule of idea, blood-letting abolitionism.³⁹

The result of the fall election in 1862 was that despite the last minute desertion of the Union-Democratic ticket by twenty-three Republicans who publicly recanted their rashness in bolting their own party in the first place, among them being the Union candidate for coroner, F. L. Boyden,⁴⁰ the Union-Democrats swept to victory in Washtenaw County. Whereas in 1860 Lincoln had had a majority of 656 votes in the county, and Austin Blair, Republican candidate for governor, a majority of 540, in 1862 Byron Stout defeated Blair in the county by 418 votes. In Ann Arbor Blair had had a majority of seventy-five votes in 1860, but in 1862 Stout had a majority of forty-seven.⁴¹ This rather impressive reversal was not followed up in the state as a whole, however, as the Republicans swept back into all state offices. Bradley Granger was beaten in the race for Congress although he had a majority in Washtenaw County.

A writer on the Republican side, naturally disappointed at his party's showing at home, found that the election had done some good at least in showing "that many, who have pretended loyalty to the government, are ready to hamper its action." The same writer implied that the Republican defeat in the county could be explained

³⁷*Journal*, October 29, 1862.

³⁸*Peninsular Courier*, October 30, 1862.

³⁹*Michigan Argus*, October 31, 1862.

⁴⁰*Peninsular Courier*, October 30, 1862.

⁴¹*Michigan Argus*, November 7, 1862.

by the fact that many Republicans had gone into the army while the Democrats had stayed home and now had a majority.⁴² No responsible Republican leader would have seriously made such a charge, however, especially since the races between the two parties had always been close, the tide of victory constantly shifting back and forth with each election.

One would think that interest in politics would have diminished after the excesses of the fall election campaign, but in February, 1863, the *Peninsular Courier*, probably more politically minded than any of the other papers, with unflagging zeal, tore into the spring elections. It called upon the Republicans who were still left at home to redouble their efforts to keep the loyal element in power. The Democrats did not speak of any Union party now, it noted. That "mask of hypocrisy" had fallen off.⁴³

The *Michigan Argus* in its turn observed that whereas Knights of the Golden Circle had been the Republicans' favorite epithet the year before, now the cry was "copperhead" or "traitor" when speaking of a Democrat. The newspaper said that the Democrats stood for fighting the war "with the original object in view, and not for political or partisan purposes, and for ceasing to fight as soon as the rebels shall express a willingness to return to their allegiance, and not before." If these beliefs qualified one to be called a copperhead and a traitor then the editor was both, but he hoped that no Democrats in the county would abstain from voting or "vote the republican ticket to avoid being called a copperhead."⁴⁴

In any event there was no falling off in public interest in politics, since the total vote for the city in April, 1863, varied by less than ten votes from that of the previous fall. The Republicans were victorious in the state in general, but in Ann Arbor the Democrats elected their first mayor in five years and the city council, which had been evenly divided between the two parties, was now solidly Democrat, eight to four.⁴⁵

The spring election of 1864 was something in the nature of a

⁴²*Peninsular Courier*, November 20, 1862.

⁴³*Peninsular Courier*, February 19, 1863.

⁴⁴*Michigan Argus*, April 3, 1863.

⁴⁵*Michigan Argus*, April 10, 1863. The *Peninsular Courier*, April 9, 1863, explained the Democratic victory by claiming that "several Republicans were not at the polls."

tuneup for the coming presidential election in the fall.⁴⁶ The *Michigan Argus* printed a poem which, it seems, had originally appeared in a Confederate paper. An ardent Republican in the city promptly wrote the *Michigan State News* calling the *Argus* a copperhead journal. The *Argus* retorted that it was a well-known fact that an editor of a paper did not necessarily endorse everything that was printed in his paper; or did Lorenzo Davis, editor of the *News*, it asked, approve and take "Radway's Ready Relief, Robeck's Bitters, Billington's Fig Electuary, . . . or Cheeseman's Female Pills, because he sounds their praise in a conspicuous place, without note or comment."⁴⁷

When the Pomeroy Circular appeared early in 1864 booming Salmon Chase, the secretary of the treasury, for the Republican presidential nomination, the *Michigan Argus* noted that all was not "harmony in the 'happy family,' and . . . patriots at Washington mingle with their great love of country just a little love of self."⁴⁸ On April 1, the Democratic convention for the city of Ann Arbor put forth its slate for the spring election. Elihu B. Pond, the editor of the *Argus*, noted privately that the selections were "enough to disgust one with all politics."⁴⁹ April 4, election day, was rainy; a fact which "very fortunately furnishes both parties an excuse for their partial defeat." The Republicans, according to the *Argus*, had some sort of Union League organized which "succeeded in getting out every Republican voter not necessarily absent from the city." Fortunately for the Democrats, who were in a minority at the polls that day, the Republicans did not all vote a straight ticket. As a result, the incumbent Democratic mayor, Ebenezer Wells, was returned to

⁴⁶It is unfortunate that from July, 1863, to the end of the war, the writer had available among the materials he could use only the files of the *Michigan Argus*. Therefore only when some reference is made to one of the other papers in the *Michigan Argus* can one obtain any indication of the opinions of the Republican papers. Because the *Michigan Argus* was probably the most worthwhile of the four weeklies and the diary of its editor is available for these years it is still possible to piece together a fairly satisfactory account of the important election of 1864.

⁴⁷*Michigan Argus*, February 19, 1864. Continuing its huge joke, the paper said, "if he does take them all we pity his taste and stomach."

⁴⁸*Michigan Argus*, March 11, 1864.

⁴⁹Diary of Elihu B. Pond, April 1, 1864, in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan.

office and the Democrats kept their control of the council, seven to five.⁵⁰

At the end of May, 1864, the *Michigan Argus* came out with an editorial which was entitled, "When Will It End?" At first glance it seemed merely another war commentary, but actually it was an opening salvo in the political campaign. When the war began, said the paper, William Seward, Zachariah Chandler, and other Republican leaders had confidently predicted a quick end to the war. Three years later the war was still going on. Ulysses S. Grant was fighting the bloodiest, most costly, and seemingly least fruitful campaign of them all in Virginia. Now, said the writer, after three such years, "the people of the United States are insulted with a demand that the imbecile administration of Abraham Lincoln shall be continued in power for another four years." When would the people realize that their "only safety is in deliverance from the hands into which we have fallen," into the hands of the Democratic party, "the only true Union party . . . [the only one] which is true to the Constitution."⁵¹ From this time on all news seems to be tainted by politics.

In early June the Republican National Convention was held in Baltimore. Pond provided a running commentary on it in his diary. On June 6 he reported that the Republicans were "hopping mad" over John C. Fremont having accepted the nomination by the rival Cleveland convention. "Hope they will get madder, as an evidence that the Gods may destroy them," he wrote.⁵² On June 8 the Republicans were still "cursing Fremont They swear by 'Old Abe' or his administration and are willing to see the Union go down not before the rebellion, but before the government."⁵³ The following day he glumly wrote that "Old Abe" was reported nominated.⁵⁴ Later in the month the *Michigan Argus* predicted that history would say that, unlike Nero who fiddled while Rome burned, "Old Abe . . . spent his time during the most trying and solemn hour any nation was ever called to pass through telling smutty and obscene

⁵⁰*Michigan Argus*, April 8, 1864. Pond was very disillusioned with politics at this time, and wrote in his diary on April 6, "It is better to be entirely out of politics and let the offices take care of themselves."

⁵¹*Michigan Argus*, May 27, 1864.

⁵²Pond Diary, June 6, 1864.

⁵³Pond Diary, June 8, 1864.

⁵⁴Pond Diary, June 9, 1864.

stories." No wonder that religious leaders and "dignified Senators" turned from him "in disgust."⁵⁵ On July 4 "the hesitating, vacillating, law-making-and-repealing, currency tinkering body, known as the 38th Congress, adjourned. . . . Let all the people join in singing the doxology."⁵⁶ In August it was reported that the Union League was determined not to let "any Republican backslide from Abraham's bosom" if it could be helped. All who seemed doubtful of the wisdom of any of the Republican policies were to have the screws applied to them and were "to be driven by the party lash, and with taunts of traitors, copperheads, etc., to vote against their better judgment." The *Michigan Argus* hopefully declared that it doubted such methods would succeed.⁵⁷

The Democrats marked time during most of the summer until the national convention was held late in August. On August 25 the New York delegation to the convention in Chicago passed through Ann Arbor. A large crowd was at the depot to have a look. Horatio Seymour, Eli Thayer, and George F. Train obligingly stepped out and made "brief speeches which were received with great enthusiasm." As the *Michigan Argus* rightly said, "the fires" of the political campaign were "kindled."⁵⁸ On the last day of the month word arrived that General George B. McClellan and George Pendleton were to be the Democratic standard bearers. The local Democrats turned out in great force and "ratified" the nomination "with bonfires, speeches, etc. A large and enthusiastic gathering was convened." Alpheus Felch, a former governor, and Bradley Granger, the former congressman, who had now switched back to the Democratic party, were among the speakers. The *Argus* was jubilant. The convention had "erected a platform upon which every lover of the Union" could stand. They had nominated for president General McClellan,

who has stood firm as a rock, during the bitterest partisan persecution. . . . A gentleman, a Christian, a scholar, a statesman, a soldier, it will disgrace the nation in the eyes of the world if he is not elected as the

⁵⁵*Michigan Argus*, June 24, 1864.

⁵⁶*Michigan Argus*, July 8, 1864. "It is only to be regretted," it concluded, "that this Congress has another session to hold."

⁵⁷*Michigan Argus*, August 19, 1864.

⁵⁸*Michigan Argus*, August 26, 1864.

successor of the joking, rail-splitting, and Union-splitting occupant of the Presidential mansion.

George Pendleton was a man of only slightly less exalted stature.⁵⁹

The county convention of the Democratic party met in Ann Arbor, September 7, 1864. Pond wrote the next day that there were "considerable many soreheads today." Granger apparently had expected to be given some position but did not get it. "He has no claim to a Democratic nomination. . . . Wish I was . . . out of politics. *Disgusting*."⁶⁰ Perhaps because of this disillusioning event he lost faith in the chances of the Democrats. He wrote on August 31 that great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the country for McClellan and the fires which had started "ought to burn up the Lincoln administration root and branch."⁶¹ Two weeks later he wrote that he feared that "Old Abe will win."⁶² But officially, of course, he remained optimistic. He was not alone, as the *Journal*, which, according to the *Michigan Argus*, had, with great reluctance, "succeeded in swallowing 'Old Abe' and 'Andy' Johnson" in July,⁶³ now, after the Democratic convention, took "down the Republican ticket" and ran "up the Democratic flag."⁶⁴ Thus there were now two papers on each side, as there had been in 1862.

On September 17 the Democrats called a big meeting at the courthouse to celebrate the anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution. "Rally around the Constitution!" was the cry of the meeting, which was sponsored by the Ann Arbor Democratic association. This recently formed organization presumably was established to counteract the Republican's Union League. Elihu B. Pond presided at the meeting. He reported that the distinguished speakers, George V. N. Lothrop and Robert McClelland, both of Detroit, who were to have addressed the meeting, could not appear and that consequently Bradley Granger, Robert E. Frazer and other "local talent" filled their places and delivered speeches which were "frequently interrupted by cheers." It showed the determination, said the *Michigan Argus*, of the Democracy to eject "Abraham Lincoln

⁵⁹*Michigan Argus*, September 2, 1864.

⁶⁰Pond Diary, September 8, 1864.

⁶¹Pond Diary, August 31, 1864.

⁶²Pond Diary, September 16, 1864.

⁶³*Michigan Argus*, July 22, 1864.

⁶⁴*Michigan Argus*, September 9, 1864.

and his shoddy crew from the White House. At the adjournment tremendous cheers were given for 'Little Mac,'⁶⁵ The *Peninsular Courier* made some sort of attack on this meeting. The *Argus* took offense and cautioned the Republican paper "that if it has nothing to say of principles and measures, it would do well to let personal abuse alone. . . . Shame ought to mantle the cheek of the writer of the paragraph."⁶⁶ On September 26 there was a great mass meeting at Ypsilanti of the Democrats in the area. "The country around seemed to empty itself into the town. Procession about 2 miles long—with . . . banners, and ladies. . . . Republicans had long faces. A most beautiful day."⁶⁷ The next day the Democrats staged a rally in Ann Arbor. Rain forced the gathering indoors and greatly cut down the size of the parade and the amount of display; but, although the total attendance was disappointing, it was noted that never before had so many women been seen at a political gathering. This was taken as a good omen, apparently because of the belief that the women had had "enough of Old Abe's silly and obscene jokes," and wished "a man in the White House" who would fill "the station with dignity, as well as manifest some statesmanship."⁶⁸

On October 11 the Republicans struck back with a huge mass meeting. The day was perfect and there was general agreement that it was a great success. The *Michigan Argus* conceded that it was "the largest and most imposing political demonstration we have ever seen in this county."⁶⁹ A Republican observer declared it was generally "conceded to be the largest, *one* of the largest ever held in the state. The procession was 7 or 8 miles long."⁷⁰ Some of the more enthusiastic Republicans estimated the crowds at from twenty-five

⁶⁵*Michigan Argus*, September 16 and 23, 1864. At about the same time as the Ann Arbor Democratic Association was formed it was reported that the Fourth Ward McClellan Club was organized.

⁶⁶*Michigan Argus*, September 30, 1864.

⁶⁷Pond Diary, September 26, 1864.

⁶⁸*Michigan Argus*, September 30, 1864 and Pond Diary, September 27, 1864. In another column of the September 30 issue it was stated: "We believe the mass of the Republicans honest, patriotic, Union-loving citizens. It is the policy and measures of the Republican leaders we combat." The statement is strongly reminiscent of the wording of the circular of the Republican State Central Committee in March, 1862, only with reference to a different party, of course.

⁶⁹*Michigan Argus*, October 14, 1864.

⁷⁰William Stevens to William C. Stevens, October 16, 1864, in the Stevens Papers in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan.

thousand to thirty thousand. In the afternoon there were four speakers going at one time. Such men as Senator Jacob Howard, Governor Austin Blair, and Colonel Mann of the Thirty-ninth Illinois Infantry were among those who spoke. Pond drifted about picking up bits of the different speeches. From what he could gather "their principal capital stock consisted, not in a defense of the administration policy . . . but in misrepresentation of the Chicago platform and abuse of the Democratic party." Furthermore, the speakers did not all agree with one another, but he was inclined to let them disagree.⁷¹ He wrote in his diary that night that the Democrats would have a hard job doing better than the Republicans.⁷²

The Democrats could not allow the Republicans to put on a bigger show than themselves, especially in Ann Arbor, one of the principal Democratic strongholds in southeastern Michigan. Consequently, on October 25 they held another mass meeting. An observer from Whitmore Lake said it was almost as large as the meeting the Republicans had held two weeks before.⁷³ The Democrats insisted it far outdid the Republican rally. The *Michigan Argus* proudly announced "The Great Gathering of the Democracy. Washtenaw out *en Masse*. 30,000 Citizens in Council. . . . Tremendous Enthusiasm. . . . The Republicans 'Cave'."

The Democrats were fortunate in having a fine day. People began coming into town at a very early hour and filled all the streets waiting for the big parade. At 10:00 A.M. the marshal of the day and his staff started the proceedings with Gwinners' Band (the band of the Steuben Guards, Ann Arbor's first military company in the war), an escort of students, and a "four-horse carriage carrying 35 young ladies, handsomely dressed in red, white, and blue, wearing liberty-caps, and each carrying the national flag." They were piled on in a pyramidal shape with the radiant "goddess of liberty" on top, holding on to a staff flouting "an elegant banner." This colorful group welcomed the incoming delegations. From all directions they came, each escorted by a band: the Unadilla Band, the Jackson Band, the Dentonville Band, the Plymouth Brass Band, and a band from

⁷¹*Michigan Argus*, October 14, 1864.

⁷²Pond Diary, October 11, 1864.

⁷³William Stevens to William C. Stevens, October 26, 1864, in the Stevens Papers.

Detroit. All poured into town "making soul stirring music." The parade was declared to have been sixteen miles long. It took three hours to pass by and "filled all the streets from Main to State. It was such a sight as Ann Arbor never saw before, and we doubt not the largest and most imposing procession ever formed in the State."⁷⁴

In the afternoon two whole oxen were barbecued in the Court-house Square "and were soon entirely disposed of, together with several hundred loaves of bread." Then at 3:00 P.M. the speeches began. The Republicans had had four stands; the Democrats had six. The organizers of the meeting had advertised that Horatio Seymour and John Van Buren of New York, Leslie Coombs of Kentucky, and George V. N. Lothrop would be among the speakers, but all excused themselves. Lothrop thereby missed his second Democratic rally in Ann Arbor in a month. Bradley Granger and other local leaders, together with a Mr. Ward from Ohio and a Dr. Berchman from New York, took the place of the out-of-town speakers. Dr. Berchman spoke in German to appeal to the large German population in the county. A torchlight procession followed in the evening, after which there were more speeches, a ball at Hangsterfer's, and another gathering at Donnelly's. "The Democracy of Old Washtenaw are alive," the *Michigan Argus* observed.⁷⁵ Another witness of the meeting wrote that the Democrats "seem to have given up all else and resolved to make every effort to carry this county." Twenty-five Democrats from Wayne County, he reported, who were working on drainage ditches in Whitmore Lake, were "registered as voters," and he figured they might "colonise enough at that rate to give them the Co."⁷⁶

This great rally pretty well climaxed the campaign of 1864 although work continued feverishly down to the day of election. But, Pond declared, "The hard work will change no votes. Might as well

⁷⁴*Michigan Argus*, October 28, 1864.

⁷⁵*Michigan Argus*, October 28, 1864.

⁷⁶William Stevens to William C. Stevens, October 23, 1864, in the Stevens Papers. While in Ann Arbor the elder Stevens "bet \$100 with P— Fralick that I would name 5 states that would give an average Maj'ty for Old Abe of 20,000—and I named Mass.—Vermont—Maine—Indiana and Ohio. He then offered to bet \$50 that he would win the above bet and I took him up, but he backed out. I would like to double the bet that 4 of the 5 States above named will give 100,000 Maj'y for Lincoln, but can find no takers." (October 26, 1864.) It was just as well he could not find takers for the last bet since he would have lost it as no state gave Lincoln such a majority.

keep quiet and take it easy; but then we can't."⁷⁷ He had no hope for the success of the party, at least nationally. "Expect Mr. Lincoln will be elected, and then that Democratic papers generally will be suppressed, or put under military control."⁷⁸ The next day, October 29, he wrote, even more gloomily, "Nothing promising in future. The late election . . . in Indiana indicate that the administration is determined to perpetuate itself by foul means if necessary, and then farewell to Freedom and liberty. The future is dark."⁷⁹ In the last issue of the *Michigan Argus* before election day it was promised that from then on the paper would have other news besides that of politics, "for which we shall be as glad as any of our readers." But it gave one last dig when it reported that the Volunteer Relief Fund to aid families of soldiers had distributed \$40,700 in the county in the past year. "As years go by and quota after quota is filled, the expenditures from this truly benevolent and patriotic fund will be largely increased. Think of it, voters."⁸⁰

The election on November 8 was something of an anticlimax. In Ann Arbor it rained all day, but still 1080 voters turned out, over a hundred more than had ever before voted in the city. It was a quiet election. The *Michigan Argus* reported it "never saw so little electioneering done at the polls, nor so few split tickets come out of the ballot box." In the city the Republicans swept the ticket by small majorities. In the county the Democrats won out.⁸¹ This was not surprising considering "the tremendous efforts made by the Dem'ts to carry it," declared a resident of the county.⁸²

The returns from the nation were slow in coming in because of defects in the telegraph and other unforeseen causes. But the result was not in doubt. The *Michigan Argus* admitted that "The Democracy of the nation are routed horse, foot, and dragoon."⁸³ The day after election it continued raining and Pond wrote in his diary, "The Heavens are weeping over the results of the election. The people have gone mad. Hope that good may come of it, but can't see it.

⁷⁷Pond Diary, November 7, 1864.

⁷⁸Pond Diary, October 28, 1864.

⁷⁹Pond Diary, October 29, 1864.

⁸⁰*Michigan Argus*, November 4, 1864.

⁸¹*Michigan Argus*, November 11, 1864.

⁸²William Stevens to William C. Stevens, November 11, 1864, in the Stevens Papers.

⁸³*Michigan Argus*, November 11, 1864.

Final dissolution of subjugation of the North with the South are the alternatives."⁸⁴ But election excitement passed away to such a degree that by the end of the week Pond was able to report, "People settling down into the normal channel. It is singular how soon the political excitement dies away."⁸⁵

But the politicians could not settle back since the election was not officially over as yet. The results in the county as well as in Michigan as a whole were in doubt for several weeks because of the soldier's vote. The state legislature had passed an act on February 5, 1864, permitting the soldiers in the field to vote. The *Michigan Argus* declared the law "was passed to prove the Republican party the peculiar friend of the soldier, and is simply an electioneering document."⁸⁶

If such was the case it was remarkably successful, for the Republican presidential electors were overwhelmingly elected by the soldiers: 9,402 to 2,959 at the most for the Democratic electors. Only the First, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Michigan Infantry regiments went Democratic.⁸⁷ These returns, however, were slow in coming in. On December 2 the *Michigan Argus* had hoped to have the final returns "but at our latest advices from Lansing, sundry regiments, detachments, hospitals, and 'four corners' were not heard from. Besides, rumor says they are still voting in Mexico, South America, and the Islands of the Sea." But enough votes had been tabulated for the *Michigan State News* to be able to predict that all but one of the Democratic victors in the county would be defeated as a result of the vote of the soldiers. The *Argus* admitted that its rival had probably "blundered much nearer the truth than usual." The Democrats, it said, congratulated themselves on winning at home and that it was only "where slavery and military rule are twin-sisters that they didn't run worth a-continental."⁸⁸

On December 22 the county canvassers met, proceeded to discard the soldier's vote entirely, and "declared the candidates having a majority of Home vote *all* elected."⁸⁹ The Republicans flew into a

⁸⁴Pond Diary, November 9, 1864.

⁸⁵Pond Diary, November 12, 1864.

⁸⁶*Michigan Argus*, February 12, 1864.

⁸⁷John Robertson, *Michigan in the War*, 82-83 (Lansing, 1882).

⁸⁸*Michigan Argus*, December 2, 1864.

⁸⁹Pond Diary, December 22, 1864.

rage at this, as it meant that they were beaten in the county. At first it was thought that the county board of supervisors, which had a Republican majority, would refuse to accept the bond of the Democratic officers. A Republican observer thought that the Republican state legislature would seat the Republican nominees for that house and not the Democratic nominees.⁹⁰ Even Pond thought the course of the county canvassers was a doubtful one, although "no doubt correct."⁹¹

The situation was confusing until the state Supreme Court rendered its decision as to the constitutionality of the soldiers' vote law. On January 28, 1865, the court, with a solid Republican make-up, declared the law unconstitutional. The Democrats in Washtenaw County breathed a sigh of relief. The *Michigan Argus* rejoiced in the decision, "not because it deprives the gallant soldiers of the privilege of voting; but because it furnishes evidence that Michigan has a Supreme Court that will not trample the constitution and the laws under foot at the command of party."⁹²

Thus the great election of 1864 rather anticlimatically came to an end. Despite all the forebodings of what was to come, in a few short months the war was over, the first indications of Robert E. Lee's imminent surrender in Virginia coming on the very day in April, 1865, that the annual city election was held. "Elections were nothing—all minor matters were [forgotten] in rejoicing over the great event."⁹³ Next day the politicians were "mourning" over the results of the balloting, "but the people have forgotten it in the glorious news of the fall of the rebel capital—and the prospective smash up of the Confederacy."⁹⁴

⁹⁰William Stevens to William C. Stevens, December 25, 1864, in the Stevens Papers.

⁹¹Pond Diary, December 22, 1864.

⁹²*Michigan Argus*, February 3, 1865. Pond, in his diary, January 30, reported the Republicans were furious. "Will knock the Court higher than a kite. It no business to be honest—was created to do the dirty work of the party and should obey party behests."

⁹³Pond Diary, April 3, 1865.

⁹⁴Pond Diary, April 4, 1865.

Michigan Bibliography: 1951

Compiled by Lyle Eberhart

THE 1951 MICHIGAN BIBLIOGRAPHY is a list of books, pamphlets, articles, unpublished materials and miscellanea on Michigan history written or published in 1951. As in previous years, it has been compiled primarily from the acquisitions of the Burton Historical Collection. Some material acquired by other departments of the Detroit Public Library is also included.

As in the past, listing of periodical articles was done on a selective basis. Only scholarly articles or those with a definite emphasis on history have been included. Again omitted were all serial publications, including proceedings, annual reports, records, directories, and manuals. Available information permits the listing of only two theses. Following the 1951 section is a supplement to the bibliographies compiled in previous years. Most of the work for the supplement was done by the compiler of the 1950 Michigan bibliography, Sarah M. Davis, whose enthusiastic help with all of this work is gratefully acknowledged.

It is hoped that the 1952 bibliography can include a complete listing of theses on Michigan history completed at Michigan colleges and universities since 1947. The cooperation of the colleges and their history departments will be asked in order to make this an accurate list. As before, it is hoped that a note of any omission from this bibliography will be sent to Mrs. Elleine H. Stones, chief of the Burton Historical Collection and chairman of the Bibliographical Committee of the Historical Society of Michigan.

In arrangement and style, the attempt has been made to be consistent with the form of the three immediately preceding bibliographies. The three sections are: books and pamphlets, periodical articles, and unpublished materials and miscellanea. Entries are arranged alphabetically by author or society responsible for publication, and dates are omitted from all entries. Titles which do not have any location symbol are in the Burton Historical Collection. Materials in other departments or other libraries are indicated by the following location symbols:

Mi	Michigan State Library
MiD-G	General Information Department, Detroit Public Library
MiD-P	Philosophy, Religion and Education Department, Detroit Public Library
MiD-S	Social Sciences Department, Detroit Public Library
MiD-W	Wayne University Library
MiKKc	Kalamazoo College Library
MiKKp	Kalamazoo Public Library

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Notes and Documents

GEORGE L. HAMMELL COLLECTION

Esther Loughin

MICHIGAN STATE LIBRARY HAS RECEIVED RECENTLY a great collection of local and family histories which came to it as a bequest from the late George L. Hammell of East Lansing. The heart of Mr. Hammell's collection is a basic record of Ingham County families. Out of this voluminous record he had done special work on the families of Stockbridge Township, seat of Ingham's oldest settlement. Because of the migration of Michigan's early families, he had developed other records, chiefly those of Washtenaw, Livingston, and Oakland counties. Another specialty of Mr. Hammell was the early Dutch families who had many descendants in early Michigan and the midwest, and the earliest Irish families who came to Michigan.

Last year Mr. Hammell located the marriage and baptismal records of Father Patrick O'Kelly, covering the years 1842-56, in Oakland, Livingston, and Ingham counties. These he had microfilmed for Michigan State Library. He had also abstracted them for the library from the film for quick reference use. This project was the springboard for his study of the early Irish Catholic families who came to Livingston County in the early 1830's. Using the library manuscript census records of agriculture and the population records on film, and interviewing the descendants of these early families, he was at work on what seemed an original study into one segment of early Michigan history. We have known of the Irish families who came in 1848-50, but little was known of this group who came in the 1830's to Michigan. I hope that with the help of Mrs. Nelson D. Potter of Pinckney, with whom he was working on this study, that we may get this manuscript in shape for use and publication.

Mr. Hammell died September 27, 1952, in Lansing, after a short illness. He was born in Ionia, but lived most of his life in Lansing, except when his activities in the newspaper field took him to St. Louis, Missouri, and Detroit. His interest in family history began

twenty-five years ago. As is usual, his energies were at first directed toward knowledge of his own family, but they soon developed into broader channels so that he became expert in his knowledge of early Ingham County families. His work was based on primary local records: land, census, and probate, and on interviews with descendants of the early families from whom he picked up early family and Bible records.

Some of the records which we have from his effort are: Ingham County land and marriage records, the 1850 census, the 1860 census of Lansing, and cemetery records. We have also the Shiawassee County marriage records. They were done especially in cooperation with the Local and Family History Section of the Michigan State Library in its effort to develop records of this early and interesting county, and Washtenaw County marriage records to 1840—a record which we have on film and which is being continued by Mrs. Ernest J. Allmendinger and Mrs. Herbert Hicks of Ann Arbor, members of the Washtenaw County Historical Society.

Mr. Hammell was a meticulous worker and there are few counties in any state which have been so thoroughly explored as has Ingham County through his effort. I believe I am not saying too much in comparing his work to that of Donald Lines Jacobus in his published record, *History and Genealogy of The Families of Old Fairfield, Connecticut*.¹ I hope that in time we may get this basic Ingham County record into shape for use and duplication, so that it may be available at Burton Historical Collection and other centers of family history study.

Mr. Hammell was the prime mover behind the Michigan Pioneer Record project of Michigan State Library. He designed a record form which has been greeted everywhere as one of simplicity and which has been very successful in its chief aim: that of discovering the roots of Michigan families. The record is sent to anyone whom it will help. Through the use of the form, we have received many excellent local and family history records and have made many friends who first became acquainted with the scope and value of our collection through the Michigan Pioneer Record. A notable gift

¹Donald Lines Jacobus, *History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield, Connecticut* (New Haven, 1930-1932).

from Evert O. Hutchins of Chicago—the Hutchins Family Scrapbook, a manuscript record which includes many early families in Allegan County, and photostats of a series of historical sketches of west Allegan County prepared by Henry H. Hutchins for the *Saugatuck Commercial-Record* from 1919-25—came to us in this way.

Mr. Hammell was a member of the Historical Society of Michigan and contributed an article, "Two Soldiers at Pinckney," to *Michigan History*.²

Michigan State Library has also received recently two other fine manuscript collections from its good friends and users: the collection of Glen Evans of Lansing, who died in 1951, by gift of Mrs. Evans; and the Calkins Collection from Edmund Calkins of Mason, a member of the Historical Society of Michigan and in earlier years a contributor to *Michigan History*,³ who adds constantly to his fine collection on his frequent visits to the library. Mr. Calkins was statistician for the Michigan Public Utilities Commission before his retirement.

Mr. Evans' collection is of interest in that its specialty is the Belknap family. He is not of any kin to this family. It captured his interest because many members came early to Michigan, particularly to the Grand Rapids area, and because he noted two characteristics among Belknap men: they were prolific with very large families and they had a family occupation from generation to generation. The members of the family always made their mark in solid contribution to the community into which they migrated and they worked at the family occupation of blacksmithing.

²"Two Soldiers at Pinckney," in *Michigan History*, 34:252-54 (September, 1950).

³"Old Trails of Central Michigan," in *Michigan History*, 12:327-49 (April, 1928); "Railroads of Michigan Since 1850," in *Michigan History*, 13:5-25 (Winter, 1929); "First Railroad to Enter Michigan's Capital City," in *Michigan History*, 19:391-97 (Autumn, 1935).

PETOSKEY MURALS

Francis Pailthorp

IN THE DECEMBER 1952 ISSUE OF *Michigan History* I noticed the account of the mural put on display at the Upper Peninsula State Fair. Petoskey has been at it for years. You may be interested to know that Central School in Petoskey has eight large panels, most of them painted by Ottawa Indian Children. This has always given me a thrill. I doubt if any other school in Michigan has that.

I did not know just how good they were until an old pupil of mine who is now in *Who's Who* and *Famous Western Artists* passed through and saw them. She thought they were most unusual and sent me a spray from New York to put over them to preserve them.

Four were painted by Miss Josephine Otto, a young Indian girl from the high school art class. She painted "Our Hiawatha Play." All her family were in the play. They all did fine bead work—even the men. She spent hours all one winter beading her mural costumes.

Four were supervised by Oakley Bush, a young Indian boy from the high school art class. Oakley painted too "The Arrival of the Government Boat." Here you will see the canoe decorated inside with paper roses—the kind the Indians used in their grave wreaths. The Indians thought that would please the officers; they had often admired the Indian paper flowers. This canoe was, also, loaded with maple sugar mandy, quill baskets, rush mats, splint and sweet grass baskets, bead work, moccasins, leather jackets, etc. These they hoped to sell to the officers. Oakley's grandfather was a famous story teller in the north.

Oakley helped Miss Laura Jean Schneider paint "The Arrival of the Pigeons." "The First School" was painted by Miss Kirwin from the high school art classes.

In a glass case in the hall in Central School is a clay group made years ago by Stanley Kellogg. At that time we were doing the "History of Petoskey in Clay." He called his group "The Arrival of the White Man."

In the high school study hall is a real mural, painted by Gustave Hildebrand who came here from Toas, New Mexico, where he had a studio. Mr. Hildebrand called his mural the "History of Petoskey." He was assisted by Miss Betty Foley, six pupils from the high school art class, and the Petoskey Artist Association.

There is a Bas Relief called the "Rising Sun" or "Petoskey" in the high school auditorium. This was done by Stanley Kellogg when he was studying with Lorado Taft and Norman in Chicago. It should be hung lower and lighted from the bottom.

In Little Traverse Hospital in Petoskey is a fine mural called the "Medicine Man" painted by a New York artist, I think.

In the Kellogg Studio, which you should all visit, is the "Indian Mother"—a statue Stanley Kellogg made when he was assistant to Carl Milles of Cranbrook.

There are many doing fine colored photography in and about Petoskey. On the walls of the Indian museum at Harbor Springs there is a photograph of the Indian pageant given there. I hope this museum will be open. It's very new but interesting.

John Duvernay, a Petoskey Indian artist, painted two murals for the conservation camp at Higgins Lake (WPA). Johnie Mixamong, a Petoskey Indian artist, made some of the unusual carved wood signs for Mackinac Island (WPA).

There is a large collection of fine quill baskets made by our Indian artists in our City Hall (WPA). I have always felt they were the real artists of our county.

Mrs. Bernard Sturm who has a studio at Conway, very near Petoskey, designed the jacket for the book, *Then Comes May* by Huford.

There are two places in Petoskey where Petoskey stones and agates are polished and sold.

THE DOCTOR WILLIAM BEAUMONT MEMORIAL ON MACKINAC ISLAND

Alfred H. Whittaker, M.D.

THE DR. WILLIAM BEAUMONT STORY has long been familiar not only to doctors, but to school children. It is the story of a young surgeon's mate stationed in a wilderness outpost who took advantage of an accident and made one of the greatest contributions to scientific medicine; a discovery which resulted in great benefit to all mankind. Through an accidental injury to a French Canadian voyageur, Dr. Beaumont was able to study the interior of a human stomach, and by a carefully observed series of experiments to establish knowledge of the digestive processes of the gastro-intestinal tract.

In large medical centers, where clinical and laboratory facilities were available, history records other cases of gastric fistula, but the knowledge of digestion continued theoretical, being attributed to the warmth of the body and resulting putrefaction, fermentation, and the mechanical (maceration) action of the stomach wall. Dr. Beaumont, the pioneer physiologist of the United States and the first to make a contribution of enduring value, settled finally the chemical nature of the digestive process so much discussed from the days of the fundamental experiments of Réaumur¹ (1752) and Spallanzani² (1782). In the absence of any facilities and working entirely alone, Dr. Beaumont's scientific methods were excellent.

Medicine prior to Beaumont had recorded few who were able to observe and record accurately their findings. Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (Paracelsus)³ and later Vesalius,⁴ had this ability and established the true scientific methods of research, but on this continent it was not until June 6, 1822, that destiny let fall in the path of this young medical officer the opportunity which he recognized, grasped, and improved with a zeal and unselfishness not exceeded in the annals of medical science.

¹René Antoine Ferchault de Reaumur, 1683-1757, French natural philosopher and inventor of Thermometer.

²Lazaro Spallanzani, 1729-1799, Italian anatomist.

³Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493-1541, a Swiss alchemist and physician. He was known as Philippus Aureolus Paracelsus.

⁴Andreas Vesalius, 1514-1564, Belgian anatomist in Italy.

William Beaumont, fourth in descent from William Beaumont who came to America from England about 1635 and settled in Saybrook, Connecticut, was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, on November 21, 1785. He received the usual public school education. He was fifteen by the turn of the century, at a time when John Adams had just completed his administration and Thomas Jefferson had succeeded to the presidency. Jefferson's administration was ushered in with evidence of the great progress that the country was making. His second administration witnessed the beginning of the aggression of England's navy on American commerce, and the seeds of the War of 1812, in which Beaumont was to take an important part, had already been sown.

Prompted by a feeling of restless ambition, which was to characterize his future life, Beaumont left his father's home in 1806. Traveling with a horse and cutter, a barrel of cider, and \$100, he arrived in the spring of 1807 at the little village of Champlain, New York, which was only a few miles from the Canadian border. Having been trained in one of the best of the New England public schools, he asked of the trustees a position as teacher, was accepted, and continued successful in this capacity for three years.

While going north to Champlain by way of western Vermont, Beaumont came in contact with Dr. John Pomeroy, a prominent physician and surgeon in Burlington, from whom he borrowed such books as would give him the fundamentals of medicine. While teaching school and tending store in Champlain he found time to read these medical works, using his years of teaching to accumulate sufficient money to keep him through the prescribed two years of medical apprenticeship.

In the fall of 1810, he crossed Lake Champlain to St. Albans, Vermont, where Dr. Benjamin Chandler was a capable practitioner. Dr. Chandler accepted young Beaumont, taking him into his home as an apprentice, and came to exert an excellent influence on the mind of his assistant, emphasizing the importance of a good memory, and of developing his power of observation and the habit of logical thought.

On June 2, 1812, Beaumont was granted a license to practice, his diploma being signed by the Dr. Pomeroy who had earlier loaned him medical books. After being granted his license to

practice, he remained with his preceptor until September 8. War having been declared with Great Britain, he left Vermont for Plattsburg, New York, where on September 13, 1812, he was received into the army as surgeon's mate and assigned to the Sixth Infantry Regiment on brevet from General James Bloomfield. His commission was issued by President James Madison in December, 1812.

Dr. Beaumont experienced a very active participation in numerous engagements, recording many cases which are of interest to the military surgeon and the surgeon of trauma.

The treaty of Ghent was signed in December, 1814, and ratified in February, 1815. A few months later, Dr. Beaumont tendered his resignation and entered practice in Plattsburg, where he had many friends and a deserved reputation. Practicing until 1819 his work was characterized by careful observation and records.

Active service in the medical corps having become more attractive, Dr. Beaumont on March 18, 1820, was commissioned post surgeon of the United States Army by President James Monroe, to take rank from December 4, 1819. He was immediately ordered to Fort Mackinac on the northern frontier, where he was to report to General Alexander Macomb under whom he had served valiantly in the battle of Plattsburg.

Mackinac had become the center of a series of trading posts established in a large territory including the shores of Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, Lake Superior, and the Mississippi country. In the fall brigades of several bateaux, each manned by a clerk and five to eight voyageurs, started for their distant stations. The voyageurs, like the *coureurs des bois*, formed a sort of fraternity which had gradually developed through the demands of the fur trade. They were French Canadian, sprung from the habitant class, but differed from the habitant class in that they were of a roving disposition, at home only on the water. About three thousand of these light-hearted fellows were in the employ of the American Fur Company.

Early in June, 1822, Indians and voyageurs were returning to Mackinac with the results of their winter efforts. The little village had awakened from its long sleep, and the beach was again crowded with tents and wigwams and a seething mass of strange humanity. Many of the returning voyageurs crowded into the retail store of the

American Fur Company in order to buy buckskin coats, moccasins, flannel shirts, and gaudy neck bands.

It was in this little throng that a tragedy occurred on June 6, 1822. This was to leave its imprint on the pages of medical history for all time to come. As described by Jesse S. Myer, the biographer of Beaumont, a gun was accidentally discharged and Alexis St. Martin, a young voyageur, dropped to the floor with a cavity in the left upper abdomen that would have admitted a man's fist. He proved to be a young French Canadian about nineteen years of age who had recently come down from Montreal. Gurdon S. Hubbard was an eye witness of the accident and the only one who was careful enough to leave any statement concerning the affair. He reported as follows:

The late Major John H. Kinzie had charge of the American Fur Company's retail store at Michilimackinac. I was in the habit of assisting him occasionally when a press of customers needed extra clerks. The store comprised the ground floor near the foot of Fort Hill, on the corner of the street and the road leading up to the fort. The rear part of the store was underground, built of stone, which is still standing.

This St. Martin was at the time one of the American Fur Company's engagees, who, with quite a number of others, was in the store. One of the party was holding a shotgun (not a musket), which was accidentally discharged, the whole charge entering St. Martin's body. The muzzle was not over three feet from him—I think not over two. The wadding entered, as well as pieces of his clothing; his shirt took fire; he fell, as we supposed, dead.

Dr. Beaumont, the surgeon of the fort, was immediately sent for, and reached the wounded man within a very short time—probably three minutes. We had just got him on a cot and were taking off some of his clothing. After Dr. Beaumont had extracted part of the shot, pieces of clothing, and dressed his wound carefully, Robert Stewart and others assisting, he left him, remarking, "The man can't live thirty-six hours; I will come to see him by and by." In two or three hours he visited him again, expressing surprise at finding him doing better than he anticipated. The next day, I think, he resolved on a course of treatment, and brought down his instruments, getting out more shot and clothing, cutting off ragged ends of the wound, and made frequent visits, seeming very much interested, informing Mr. Stewart in my presence that he thought he could save him.

As soon as the man could be moved he was taken to the fort hospital, where Dr. Beaumont could give him better attention. About this time, if I am not greatly mistaken, the doctor announced that he was treating

his patient with a view to experimenting on his stomach, being satisfied of his recovery. You know the result.

I knew Dr. Beaumont very well. The experiment of introducing food into the stomach through the orifice, purposely kept open and healed with that object, was conceived by the doctor very soon after the first examination.

Dr. Beaumont has also left an account of the examination of St. Martin and his subsequent care in the fort hospital. Although every effort was made to close the opening in the stomach, the aperture persisted. During the ensuing two years the series of experiments previously alluded to were carefully planned and carried out, providing observations and material which was sent to chemists and other clinical workers as far away as Edinburgh.

In the fall of 1824 Beaumont sent a complete report of Alexis St. Martin's case to Surgeon-General Joseph Lovell for his approval and correction with the suggestion it be published in some reputable medical journal. The article appeared in the *Medical Recorder* early in 1825, but through an oversight on the part of someone, it was published as "A Case of Wounded Stomach, by Joseph Lovell, Surgeon-General, U.S.A." The mistake was corrected, however, and credit was given to Beaumont. In 1833 the experiments were published in detail.

Several papers giving the story of Beaumont and Alexis St. Martin appeared over the years but it was not until 1912 that a full history was published when Dr. Jesse S. Myer produced his *Life and Letters of Dr. Wm. Beaumont*.⁵ Dr. Myer had been given the contents of two old chests by the daughter of Dr. Beaumont, Mrs. Sarah Beaumont Keim, who lived in St. Louis where her father practiced during the last twenty years of his life. The chests contained documents, manuscripts, memoranda, diaries, letters, clippings, and books. From Dr. Myer's biography of Beaumont much of this account has been obtained.

In the United States there are many historical shrines, but there are very few which commemorate the achievement of American medicine. The contribution of Beaumont to human welfare, carried out as it was in Michigan, provides an opportunity for our state to establish the most significant medical memorial in the country. It is

⁵Jesse S. Myer, A.B., M.D. *Life and Letters of Dr. William Beaumont*. (St. Louis, 1912).

recognized that such a development will create world wide attention as the story of Beaumont and his contribution to the knowledge of the physiology of digestion is appreciated by the scientists of other countries.

The Michigan State Medical Society in 1926 participated in the ceremony of the placing of a historical marker in the fort on Mackinac Island, just to the east of the Officers Quarters. This bronze tablet set into a large stone presents a short account of Beaumont's discovery. In 1947 through the generosity of Parke Davis & Company the old American Fur Trading Company retail store building,



THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY STORE AS IT LOOKED IN 1946
AFTER MANY ALTERATIONS.

in recent years known as the Early House, was purchased by the Medical Society. In 1950 the doctors of Michigan began planning the restoration of the building in which the accident to St. Martin occurred.

Emil Lorch, former head of the College of Architecture at the University of Michigan, was asked to supervise the restoration. During the past two years an intensive program of research has been carried out both in this country and in Canada to insure the historical accuracy of the shrine. In the spring of 1953, with funds contributed by the doctors of Michigan, the modern section of the building will be removed and the original section restored according to drawings prepared by Mr. Lorch.

The store is to be recreated from the lower part of the building, which still stands. One room will represent the store and a larger room will be utilized as a museum which will contain material that has Beaumont association value. In this room will be the large fireplace, parts of which still remain, and the large painting of Beaumont administering to St. Martin. This painting is by Dean Cornwell and was presented to the Medical Society by the John Wyeth and Brothers, Incorporated.



THE BEAUMONT MEMORIAL AS IT WILL LOOK AFTER RESTORATION.

Upon the completion of the restoration of this building during the summer of 1953, it will be given to the Mackinac Island State Park Commission to be preserved by the state of Michigan as the country's most significant medical shrine.

For the medical men of the future and for the people of the North American continent, there will thus be preserved the memory of the surgeon who by his keen powers of observation discovered the nature of gastric digestion. This contribution of Dr. Beaumont has been of benefit to all mankind. He, by his skillful treatment, helped in the recovery of a seriously injured person, and was thus enabled to perform a carefully recorded series of experiments which are all the more remarkable because they were performed in an isolated army post without the aid of special facilities or previous training in research.

NORVELL TO MASON, JANUARY 18, 1836

Vernon L. Beal

THE FIRE IN THE STATE OFFICE BUILDING IN LANSING, February 8, 1951, destroyed most of the archives in Michigan which were in the custody of the Historical Commission. However, a few of the most precious papers were protected in a vault and were saved. Among these is a letter addressed to Governor Stevens T. Mason and signed by Senator-elect John Norvell and Representative-elect Isaac E. Crary. The name of the other Senator-elect, Lucius Lyon, does not appear.

John Norvell, editor-lawyer-politician, was born in Danville, Virginia (now Kentucky), December 21, 1789. He was appointed postmaster of Detroit, April 11, 1831, and he moved to that city from Philadelphia where he had been editing an anti-Federalist newspaper. Prominent in political affairs in the turbulent years prior to formal admission of Michigan to the Union, he was elected to the United States Senate late in 1835, took his seat formally when Michigan was admitted to the Union in January, 1837, and served until March 3, 1841. He did not stand for re-election to his Senate post, but did serve in the state senate in 1841 and in the state house of representatives in 1842. He was United States district attorney of Michigan 1846-1849. He died on April 24, 1850.

Isaac Edwin Crary has a secure place in Michigan history because of his work with John D. Pierce in founding the public school system. (See Harold Brooks' "Founding of the Michigan Public School System," in *Michigan History*, 33:291-306.) Crary was born in Preston, Connecticut, October 2, 1804; was a graduate of the first class of Trinity College (Hartford) in 1827, studied law and commenced practice in Marshall, Michigan, in 1833. He was a delegate to the constitutional convention in 1835 and was elected as a Democrat to represent Michigan in the national House of Representatives from 1835-1841. He was also a regent of the University of Michigan, 1837-1844; a member of the state board of education, 1850-1852; a member of the state house of representatives, 1842-1846, and speaker in 1846. He was editor of the *Marshall Expounder* for sev-

eral years. He died in Marshall, still a young man, on May 8, 1854.

The letter which appears below is completely in the handwriting of Norvell, save for Crary's signature, and the cover is franked by Norvell. This in itself is interesting, for it shows that while the Michigan congressmen could not debate or vote they did exercise the franking privilege. A note on the cover in Mason's handwriting reads, "1836. From Hon. John Norvell & Isaac E. Crary relative to action of Congress & the State Legislature on the subject of the admission of the State of Union." The Governor in those days was his own stenographer, clerk, and secretary. The writing is legible and the letter needed little, if any, editing.

Washington, Jan., 18, 1836.

Sir,

In view of the approaching meeting of the legislature of the state of Michigan, it has become our duty to communicate to them, through you, a brief account of the progress, present fortune, and probable issue, of the questions, now pending before congress, concerning our southern boundary, and our admission into the union.

On our arrival at Washington, it was ascertained, that as soon as authentic copies of the state constitution and of the enumeration taken of the inhabitants of Michigan should be received by the President, he would transmit them to congress, by special message, in such terms as to indicate the opinion of the executive, that, in accordance with the conditions and pledges contained in the ordinance of 1787, Michigan was entitled to admission as a state into the union. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, such a message was communicated to both branches of the legislatures of the union. Another message, communicating a report from Captain Talcott, by whose observations it has been ascertained that the east line from the southern bend or extreme of Lake Michigan was about one hundred and one feet south of the Fulton line, and intersects the territorial line in Lake Erie, was, at the same time, transmitted to Congress.¹

¹Captain Andrew Talcott was a United States Army engineer. *The Dictionary of American Biography* 18:221 reports that he served "... as astronomer in determining the boundary line between Ohio and Michigan, 1832-36." The "Fulton" line, renamed for John A. Fulton, surveyor, was reported by the surveyor-general, November 2, 1818. This line included the "Toledo

In the senate, both messages, with the documents which accompanied them, were referred to a select committee. In the house of representatives, they were, after an unusual succession of efforts by the Ohio delegation to give them a direction favorable to their views, finally referred to the committee on the Judiciary.

The credentials of the senators and representatives elect from Michigan, having been severally presented to their respective houses, the courtesy of privileged individuals was extended to them; and the senators elect are indulged in the senate, and the representative elect in the house, so far as to be allowed the privilege of ingress and egress, and of attending the deliberations of the two houses respectively, on a footing of equality, in that respect, with the other members.²

In the senate, early in the session, a bill defining and settling the northern boundary of Ohio, embracing, for the purpose of giving strength to the claim of that state, provisions defining and settling the boundaries of Indiana, Illinois and Alabama, so far as they are doubtful or in contestation, was introduced by Mr. [Thomas] Ewing, a senator from Ohio, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. The chairman of that committee invited us to meet them on a designated day, with an intimation that the parties interested in the bill should be heard in argument in support of their respective claims. Accordingly, we attended the meeting of the committee, by whom, after consultation, it was determined that they would receive from us a written exposition in behalf of Michigan. The case of Ohio had previously been opened by Mr. Ewing, in a speech delivered in the senate, and subsequently printed and laid before the members of both houses. The exposition of the case of Michigan, made by us, was communicated to the Committee on the Judiciary; and copies of it are herewith transmitted. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate have, as yet, made no report on the subject; but, it is believed, they will, in a few days, return the bill, without amendment; and we apprehend that it will pass that body, on the ground

Strip" in the Territory of Michigan. For brief discussion of this problem see Henry Utley and Byron Cutcheon, *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State* . . . , 2:291-333 *passim* (New York, 1906). See also the references in Clark F. Norton's "Michigan Statehood: 1835, 1836, or 1837," in the December 1952 issue of *Michigan History*, 324, n. 12.

²See Utley and Cutcheon, *Michigan as a Province* . . . , 2:353-54. The reception was not quite as simply arranged as Norvell describes.

that it is expedient to yield to Ohio all that she claims, and to Indiana all that she possesses.

The Judiciary Committee of the house of representatives have the whole subject still before them. They have heard, and are still hearing, argument on both sides. It will be at least a week or two before they are ready to make a report. Hope is entertained that their report will be in favor of Michigan, as between her and Ohio. But this hope does not amount to any great degree of confidence. We have nothing to expect from them touching the Indiana boundary; but that we shall lose, so far as depends on congress, as well as on the committees of both houses, that portion of our territory now in the possession of Indiana, is almost reduced to a certainty.

It is probable that the boundary question being settled against us, congress may pass an act, or a joint resolution, for the admission of Michigan into the union as a state.

It then results from these views, that the legislature may soon be required, by the decisions of congress, to consider what course the state is to take in the event of the Indiana portion of our territory being conclusively taken from her by the action of that body; and that it may, as soon, be required to meet the contingency of an adjudication by congress against Michigan in relation to the part of her territory claimed by Ohio.

It would be premature in us to suggest any opinion, upon the happening of either or both of these events, as to the right path which duty and patriotism invoke the legislature and people of Michigan to take. Indeed, it would not, perhaps, become us to express any opinions, at any time, in our representative character, upon the subject.

In view, however, of the whole ground which is occupied at home, and of that which has, so far, been disclosed to us here, we feel bound to suggest our impressions, that several weeks will elapse before a final decision will take place in congress on the great questions of boundary and admission, in which Michigan is so deeply interested; that, if the legislature do not think it expedient to adjourn over again until they can learn that decision, they may safely consider the ordinance of 1787 as superior to any law of congress inconsistent with it; may, with propriety, proceed to originate, mature and pass any act of local legislation which belongs to the proper action of a

state legislature; may provide, under the constitution, for the election of all township and county officers; but should carefully avoid the adoption of any measures which may have the appearance of an impatient disregard of the rightful authority of the general government. While no consideration should induce our return to the territorial condition, whose trammels, so long and so patiently endured, we have deliberately shaken off, it is desirable that no step should be hastily taken at home, which can justly subject us to the charge of indiscretion or disaffection to the obligations due to the union. In proportion to the firmness of our resolution to maintain the constitutional and republican ground we have taken, should, it is respectfully suggested, be our moderation on all subordinate points. By this course, we yield nothing, while we shall gain friends, or at least confirm the friendly feelings and judgments of those who are with us at present.

The legislature of Indiana have instructed the senators, and requested the representatives, of that state, not only to oppose the admission of Michigan into the union until she shall recognize the present northern boundary of Indiana, but to unite with the senators and representatives of Ohio to obtain the permanent establishment of the northern boundary of that state "on a line parallel with the northern boundary of Indiana." The success of this magnanimous proposition would give to Ohio much more of the territory of Michigan than she claims; and its suggestion, taken in connection with the conduct and language of the delegations of the two states in congress, evinces the spirit of avarice and territorial aggrandisement which influences and directs the governments of Ohio and Indiana in their proceedings towards Michigan at this time. We have nothing to expect either from their liberality or justice; and it is for the legislature and people of Michigan to determine how far they will submit to be plundered of any portion of their territory by the congressional votes of these two states.

We have the honour to be, Very respectfully, sir, Your most obt. servts.,

John Norvell
Isaac E. Crary

His excellency Stevens T. Mason,
Governor of the State of Michigan.

Michigan News

ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1952, FIFTEEN QUALIFIED ALLEGAN County farmers received the Historical Commission centennial farm metal marker at a program arranged by the Honorable Harold D. Tripp of Allegan at the Allegan County Fair. Willard C. Wichers of Holland, a member of the Michigan Historical Commission, made the presentation of the certificates and markers. The entire fair observed the centennial of the organization of the Allegan County Agricultural Society. As it was the hundredth successive year that the fair has been held, it was quite appropriate that this first centennial farm presentation in Allegan County be a feature part of the Centennial Fair.

ON SEPTEMBER 16 FOR THE SECOND CONSECUTIVE YEAR CENTENNIAL farmers in Lenawee County were presented with markers at the Centennial Farmers Day of the Lenawee County Fair. In 1951 twenty-one farmers were honored at the Lenawee County Fair. For the 1952 affair some seventy-nine Lenawee County Farm families received centennial awards. Sponsors of the 1952 event were the Gerity-Michigan Corporation, radio station WABJ, the Adrian Chamber of Commerce, the Adrian Fair Board, and the Adrian Retail Merchants Association. The day started with a colorful parade of the centennial farmers in old-time costumes. In buggies or early automobiles, the centennial farm families drove from downtown Adrian to the Fair grounds. The parade was followed by a luncheon at the Adrian Country Club. The principal speaker at the luncheon was Dr. Charles Hoffer of Michigan State College. In the afternoon presentation of the centennial farm markers, furnished by the Consumers Power Company and the Detroit Edison Company, were made by Dr. Lewis Beeson, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission. The success of this event was due in large measure to the energy and enthusiasm of Miss Isabelle Tripp of Station WABJ.

PRESENTATION OF CENTENNIAL FARM MARKERS WAS MADE to Macomb, St. Clair, and Oakland County farmers at Washington on

October 20, 1952, under the auspices of the recently organized Macomb County Historical Society. Honored were fourteen centennial farm families from Macomb County, four from St. Clair County, and one from Oakland County. Among the group honored was the oldest farm so far located. This is the Cornelius and Jessie Stomler farm at Marine City, St. Clair County, which has been owned by the Stomler family since 1810. Dr. F. Clever Bald of the University of Michigan described the early settlement of the area.

MICHIGAN CENTENNIAL FARMERS WHO HAVE RECEIVED THEIR certificate and marker during the year 1952 are listed below, together with the name of the township in which they live, their relationship to the original owner through which the present owner holds title, and the date of acquiring title to the farm.

ALLEGAN COUNTY

- Arnold, Dan. *Gun Plain*. Great-nephew. 1839.
Brooks, Randall Wilbur. *Watson*. Grandson. 1838.
Caywood, Mr. and Mrs. William. *Monterey*. Great-grandson. 1848.
Day, Myrtie L. Bentley. *Watson*. Granddaughter. 1852.
Fenner, Gerald and Evelyn. *Martin*. Great-great-nephew. 1839.
Frank, Estella. *Dorr and Leighton*. Granddaughter-in-law. 1847.
Hooker, Leonard and son John. *Leighton*. Grandson and great-grandson. 1849.
Kent, Walter. *Watson*. Great-nephew. 1847.
McCam, Myron B. and Helen E. *Trowbridge*. Grandson. 1839.
Selkirk, Raymond J. and Dorothy A. *Wayland*. Great-grandson. 1851.
Wadsworth, Charles. *Ganges*. Son. 1851.
Wightman, Walter and Alice. *Saugatuck*. Great-granddaughter. 1852.
Wilson, Charles A. *Allegan*. Grandson. 1852.
Wuis, Mr. and Mrs. Weldon C. *Monterey*. Great-granddaughter. 1845.
Boeve, Mr. and Mrs. H. G. *Fillmore*. Great-grandson. 1852.

BARRY COUNTY

- Andrus, Jeremiah E. and Anna. *Carlton*. Great-grandson. 1849.
Avery, Lura Warner. *Prairieville*. Granddaughter. 1845.
Blood, Sherley C. *Carlton*. Grandson. 1851.
Buehler, Forrest J. and Luvada. *Irving*. Grandson. 1852.
Silcock, Mrs. Amy L. *Orangeville*. Granddaughter. 1848.

BAY COUNTY

- Kloha, Carl and Mary. *Frankenlust*. Grandson. 1852.



Courtesy WABJ

CENTENNIAL FARMERS DAY OF THE LENAWEE COUNTY FAIR



MACOMB, ST. CLAIR, AND OAKLAND COUNTY CENTENNIAL FARMERS
 Courtesy Michigan Farmer

BERRIEN COUNTY

Franklin, Robert B. *Bertrand*. Grandson. 1835.

BRANCH COUNTY

McNitt, Carman E. and Edna Russell. *Ovid*. Great-grandson. 1836.

CASS COUNTY

Ritter, Joseph K. and Marion F. *Lagrange*. Great-grandson. 1829.

Roberts, Mrs. Ralph. *Ontwa*. Great-niece. 1840.

GENESEE COUNTY

Atherton, Floyd. *Argentine*. Great-grandson. 1838.

Bailey, Arthur J. *Flushing*. Grandson. 1842.

Blue, Mr. and Mrs. Wilbert. *Davison*. Granddaughter. 1837.

Brown, Carl E. *Genesee*. Great-grandson. 1844.

Chrysler, Alonzo. *Mundy*. Grandson. 1842.

Embury, Donald and Mabel. *Grand Blanc*. Great-great-grandson. 1835.

Evatt, Katharine. *Grand Blanc*. Great-granddaughter. 1830.

Gifford, Mrs. Hazel Jennings. *Genesee*. Granddaughter. 1848.

Goodrich, Ford. *Atlas*. Great-nephew. 1837.

Goodrich, Myrtie. *Atlas*. Great-niece. 1837.

Green, Frederick. *Atlas*. Great-grandson. 1848.

Ireland, Mrs. Herbert. *Richfield*. Great-niece. 1843.

Johnson, Earl R. *Genesee*. Grandson. 1843.

Johnson, Ralph G. *Genesee*. Grandson. 1847.

Kline, Mr. and Mrs. Donald. *Grand Blanc*. Great-grandson. 1834.

Leach, Florence and Lavergne. *Grand Blanc*. Great-granddaughter. 1829.

Miller, John A., Daniel C., and Reo Miller Ottaway. *Clayton*. Grandson and great-grandchildren. 1836.

Montague, Earnest H. *Vienna*. Grandson. 1837.

Montague, Glen E. *Vienna*. Grandson. 1837.

Mongomery, Wade. *Argentine*. Grandson. 1848.

Mundy, Mrs. Lula. *Clayton*. Granddaughter-in-law. 1851.

Parsons, Ivan. *Grand Blanc*. Grandson. 1847.

Seeley, Mabel F. *Forest*. Granddaughter. 1841.

Selden, Clarence E. *Mundy*. Grandson. 1837.

Swits, Paul. *Mundy*. Grandson. 1834.

Thompson, Charles M. *Mundy*. Grandson. 1838.

Torrey, Mrs. A. H. *Mundy*. Granddaughter. 1847.

Tupper, Lavern, Lucile, and Catherine. *Fenton*. Great-great-grandson and great-granddaughter. 1837.

Washburn, Violet. *Mundy*. Great-granddaughter. 1843.

Pierce, Frank. *Mundy*. Grandson. 1837.

INGHAM COUNTY

Bond, Jesse Clare. *Aurelius*. Grandson. 1845.
Chamberlain, Archie H. and Elisabeth. *Cocke*. Grandson. 1844.
Chapin, Alice Carrie. *Vevay*. Granddaughter. 1837.
Clay, Roy and Kittie. *Williamston*. Grandson. 1838.
Edgar, John B. *Aurelius*. Great-great-grandson. 1836.
Freeman, John C. *Aurelius*. Great-grandson. 1836.
Strong, David. *Aurelius*. Son. 1840.
Wilkins, Irvin A. and Son Dale E. *Alaiedon*. Grandson and great-grandson. 1844.

IONIA COUNTY

Noyes, John H. and Florence S. *Boston*. Grandson. 1848.

JACKSON COUNTY

Conklin, Grover C. and Mable A. *Hanover*. Great-grandson. 1837.
Morrill, Lawrence N. and Florence B. *Blackman*. Grandson. 1835.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY

Burson, Abner R. and Henrietta. *Schoolcraft*. Grandson. 1831.

KENT COUNTY

Emmons, Harry T. *Wyoming*. Great-grandson. 1848.

LAPEER COUNTY

Caley, Thomas G. *Metamora*. Great-nephew. 1836.
Gass, Donald B. *Arcadia*. Great-grandson. 1837.
Hough, Harold C. *Almont*. Grandson. 1835.

LENAWEE COUNTY

Allen, George W. and Donzella. *Franklin*. Great-grandson. 1845.
Barrow, Edna and Wilbur L. Smith. *Adrian*. Great-grandchildren. 1832.
Benson, Bertha L. *Medina*. Great-granddaughter. 1836.
Bogert, Perry. *Adrian*. Grandson. 1836.
Bovee, Harold and Ruth J. *Dover*. Grandson. 1835.
Brainard, Athol and Marie. *Cambridge*. Grandson. 1835.
Bramble, Mrs. Nellie H. *Franklin*. Daughter-in-law. 1852.
Brower, Claude and Ethel. *Seneca*. Grandson. 1833.
Bruce, Robert D. and Fern. *Ogden*. Great-nephew. 1833.
Bryan, George T. and Etta. *Dover*. Great-niece-in-law. 1839.
Bryant, E. J. *Dover*. Grandson. 1835.
Calhoun, Mrs. Gladys E. *Palmyra*. Great-granddaughter. 1839.
Clement, Victor and Myrtle. *Ogden*. Grandson. 1852.
Davenport, Guy and Margareta. *Franklin*. Great-grandson. 1846.

- Dayton, Mrs. Bessie. *Rollin*. Granddaughter. 1834.
Dayton, Marian J. *Rollin*. Granddaughter. 1835.
Dunscomb, Mrs. Lillian R. *Cambridge*. Granddaughter. 1846.
Fisher, Mrs. A. Helen, Eugene, and Herbert. *Franklin*. Granddaughter-in-law and great-grandsons. 1836.
Flint, George E. *Medina*. Great-grandson. 1836.
Gilmore, Rose and Ray. *Macon*. Granddaughter. 1848.
Gorton, Wendell V. *Macon*. Great-grandson. 1845.
Gregg, Harry L. *Clinton*. Great-great-grandson. 1833.
Haas, Lawrence and Ferne. *Palmyra*. Great-granddaughter. 1836.
Halladay, Eric Richmond. *Bridgewater*. Great-grandson. 1849.
Harmon, Mrs. Maude, and Mrs. Louella Zeluff. *Macon*. Granddaughter-in-law and great-granddaughter. 1835.
Harmon, Orrel and Nellie. *Macon*. Grandson. 1835.
Hart, Wayland P. *Hudson*. Great-grandson. 1836.
Hoagland, Frank F. and Ellen. *Macon*. Son. 1848.
Hood, Mrs. Herbert N. *Adrian*. Daughter-in-law. 1850.
Howard, Francis B. *Pome*. Great-nephew. 1834.
Knox, Archibald L. *Fairfield*. Son. 1845.
Kuder, Carroll. *Clinton*. Great-grandson. 1833.
Ladd, John R. and Jane G. *Macon*. Granddaughter. 1832.
Liddel, Perley, Sumner, and Edith. *Macon*. Grandchildren. 1836.
McDonald, Mrs. Erma Seeley. *Medina*. Granddaughter. 1841.
Maloney, Carroll and Olive. *Rollin*. Granddaughter. 1852.
Mann, Irving and Vera. *Rome*. Grandson. 1837.
Mitchell, Dale F. *Raisin*. Great-nephew. 1848.
Moore, Mrs. William. *Medina*. Granddaughter-in-law. 1835.
Nash, Raymond, Pearl, and Rolland G. *Madison*. Great-grandsons. 1838.
Newell, William B. *Rome*. Grandson. 1833.
Onsted, Arthur N. and Stella O. *Cambridge*. Grandson. 1844.
O'Reilly, William J. *Clinton*. Grandson. 1837.
Palmer, Willis and Inabelle. *Ridgeway*. Great-grandson. 1832.
Phillips, Arthur M. and Hazel. *Dover*. Grandson. 1842.
Pocklington, Elmer T. and Lura E. *Ridgeway*. Great-granddaughter. 1829.
Raymond, Albern Holcomb. *Rollin*. Grandson. 1837.
Rhoades, Mrs. Ada. *Clinton*. Granddaughter. 1842.
Rogers, Comfort A., Julia Westgate, Tressie J. Horton, and Goldie S. Todd. *Palmyra*. Grandchildren. 1851.
Root, Mrs. Bessie B. *Medina*. Great-niece-in-law. 1849.
Rorick, John and Julia. *Seneca*. Great-grandson. 1845.
Seeley, Everett and Hazel. *Rollin*. Grandson. 1849.
Service, Raymond E. and Margaret. *Clinton*. Great-great-grandson. 1833.

- Shugars, Melvin Ray. *Cambridge*. Great-grandson. 1835.
Shull, Mary Edyth. *Raisin*. Granddaughter. 1841.
Shultis, Charles. *Cambridge*. Grandson. 1846.
Sisson, Truman and Genevieve. *Ridgeway*. Great-granddaughter. 1827.
Smith, Mrs. Ray. *Macon*. Great-niece. 1833.
Stafford, Alton and Bertha. *Rollin*. Great-nephew. 1847.
Swick, Gabriella and William. *Macon*. Granddaughter. 1832.
Sword, Edwin F. *Dover*. Grandson. 1832.
Thornton, James E. and Madelyn L. *Rollin*. Great-granddaughter. 1850.
Toland, Paul, Eva, and Mamie. *Cambridge*. Great-grandson and granddaughter. 1847.
Wilder, Cloyd F. and Mildred Waneta. *Medina*. Cousin. 1837.
Wiley, Ray and Jennie E. *Seneca*. Great-grandson. 1837
Wimple, Mrs. Gertrude. *Cambridge*. Great-granddaughter-in-law. 1849.
Woodward, Cecil C. *Franklin*. Great-grandson. 1852.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY

- Jackson, Lee and Jennie. *Deerfield*. Grandson. 1837.

MACOMB COUNTY

- Bartholomew, Ethel H. *Washington*. Great-granddaughter. 1832.
Bowerman, Harvey S. *Washington*. Great-grandson. 1812.
Hagaman, Howard A. and Nellie J. *Bruce*. Grandson. 1837.
Rocker, Arthur C. and Florence J. *Macomb*. Great-grandson. 1847.
Scott, William E., E. A., and S. F. *Washington*. Grandsons. 1821.

MONROE COUNTY

- Smith, Harold W. *Bedford*. Great-grandson. 1833.

OAKLAND COUNTY

- Brewer, Peter T. and Dora. *Addison*. Grandson. 1837.
Chapman, E. A. *Novi*. Great-grandson. 1829.
Hooker, Perl and Vera. *White Lake*. Granddaughter. 1838.
Johns, Mrs. Nellie B. *Lyon*. Granddaughter. 1832.
Johns, Horace B. *Lyon*. Great-grandson. 1841.
Lessiter, Norah and John. *Orion*. Daughter and grandson. 1852.

OTTAWA COUNTY

- Alting, John and Jennette. *Holland*. Grandson. 1852.

SAINT JOSEPH COUNTY

- McKindley, John A. *Mendon*. Son. 1845.

TUSCOLA COUNTY

Rosencrants, Edna McComb. *Tuscola*. Great-granddaughter. 1851.

VAN BUREN COUNTY

Rosevelt, Theodore J., Mary E., and Ruth P. *Keeler*. Grandchildren. 1850.

WASHTENAW COUNTY

Baldwin, Mrs. A. D. and son Ivan. *Lima*. Granddaughter and great-grandson. 1834.

Root, Charles A. *Superior*. Grandson. 1826.

Schaible, Gerhardt and Esther. *Lodi*. Great-grandson. 1847.

Ticknor, Frances and Donald J. *Pittsfield*. Great-great-grandchildren. 1835.

WAYNE COUNTY

Alban, Mrs. May W. *Canton*. Great-granddaughter. 1837.

Barry, Charles H. *Van Buren*. Grandson. 1845.

Clark, Frank H. *Van Buren*. Grandson. 1838.

Lowrie, Albert B. *Mongurgon*. Granddaughter. 1851.

Smith, Jesse B. *Van Buren*. Grandson. 1842.

VERNON L. BEAL, WHO STUDIED THE CHASE S. OSBORN PAPERS at the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan in preparation of his doctoral thesis, has written the following in defense of the objects mentioned in Alexis A. Praus' article found on page 409 in the December 1952 issue of *Michigan History*.

The Capitoline Wolf and the Japanese Torii that are found in Sault Ste Marie do not reflect the activity or interest of the people of the city even though this would seem to be the case. These two objects of art were presented to the city by former governor Chase S. Osborn, who on his world travels conceived the idea that these objects and those of a similar nature might appropriately be placed in his home town. It was no slavish devotion of Osborn to foreign art which caused Osborn to transport and erect these objects. Rather it was an overwhelming pride and devotion concerning Sault Ste Marie. He saw the Soo as a natural world center culture where north, south, east, and west met. The same attitude is shown in a proposition advanced by Osborn forty years after these monuments were placed when he suggested that the United Nations headquarters be located in the Soo area. See *Michigan History*, 30:167-68.

FERRIS E. LEWIS, CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT of the Henry Ford Community College, Dearborn, was appointed to the Dearborn Historical Commission in September, 1952.

Mr. Lewis has taught in Dearborn for the past twenty-eight years. From 1926 to 1946 he acted as chairman of the social science department for the Fordson public schools which for many years formed a part of the city of Dearborn.

Mr. Lewis has a keen interest in Michigan history. His first publication was in 1932. It was entitled *Our Own State*. Since that time it has gone through seven revisions and is still in use in the public schools of the state. In 1937, he brought out *My State and Its Story*. This book has also gone through seven revisions. In 1944, another book on Michigan *Then and Now* was published. His article on Frederic appeared in the December, 1948 and June, 1949 issues of *Michigan History*.

THE JANUARY, 1952 ISSUE OF THE MICHIGAN STATE BAR *Journal* presented capsule stories of Kent County judges prepared by Gordon B. Wheeler of Grand Rapids. The writer stated that it was his thought that "the senior members of the bar might enjoy a little reminiscing, and the younger members might find some value in preserving what heretofore have been rather scattered records." Both points have been achieved admirably.

Reviews of Books

Between the Iron and the Pine. By Lewis C. Reimann. (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1951. x, 225 p. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Lewis C. Reimann spent his boyhood in and about the village of Iron River on the Upper Peninsula. In this book, which was published for the Iron Ore Centennial, he tells of the life and work of his family and the other people of the area from about 1890 to about 1910.

The Reimann family migrated from Germany to Racine, Wisconsin, with two daughters as the nucleus of what was to be a family of fourteen children. From Racine they moved to Stambaugh on "the Upper," and finally to Iron River where the father conducted a draying business while the women of the family ran a boardinghouse for miners and lumberjacks. On the side the entire family worked at odd jobs and produced its own food supply by gardening and farming. It was a rough and laborious life, geared to a constant ruthless struggle for existence.

This is the theme of the book—if it may be said to have a theme—but the dominant note is not a stark and sombre one. Rather it is one of pride in the sturdy courage of the pioneer stock who managed not only to survive and progress but also to find humor and amusement. The rough, "he-man" humor of the frontier is liberally sprinkled on nearly every page.

It is not an easy book to classify. Although there is much history in it, it is not a history book in the ordinary sense. "The emphasis," as the jacket blurb says, "is on people rather than history." According to the subtitle, it is "a biography of a pioneer family and a pioneer town," but it is not biography in the ordinary sense either. It amounts to little more than a remarkable melange of anecdotes and descriptions, arranged in a sketchy organization, with no real regard for chronology; but it succeeds in a way that can only be described as delightful in recapturing the atmosphere of a time and a place that had as much color as any in the heritage of America.

The story of the Reimann family is only a hook from which the author hangs his bag of miscellany. The range of the subject matter is remarkably wide. There are descriptions of the always closed "family parlor," of the poor farm "over the hill," of iron mine drifts, of lumber camp bunk houses, of log farm houses, of the village school, general store and main street. There are outlines in some detail of the processes of logging, mining, and housekeeping. There are recipes for making a Cornish pasty, "dago red" wine, and sauerkraut. There are discussions of the main immigrant groups that made up the community. There are fabulous characters galore, humorous, pathetic, heroic, and tragic. There is Carrie

Jacobs Bond. There are Christmas and Fourth of July celebrations. But above all there are anecdotes that sketch in bold strokes the lusty character of the community and its people.

All this is the stuff from which social history is written, but the social historian will approach it with caution. Though the spirit of the book bears the undoubted stamp of authenticity, the details in many instances must depend upon the memories of the author and those who helped him. Some of the anecdotes have an almost universal character, and this reviewer has heard them told as happening on other parts of the midwestern frontier.

The book is attractively bound and neatly lithoprinted with a number of choice illustrations. It is regrettable, however, that a work so deserving of an enduring place in any full collection of Americana was not printed in more readable type.

De Paul University

ROBERT F. FRIES

The Explorations of Père Marquette. By Jim Kjelgaard. Illustrated by Stephen J. Voorhies. (New York, Random House, 1951. x, 181 p. Index, illustrations, maps. \$1.50.)

To those interested in the history of Michigan and the Great Lakes region there is something especially romantic in the story of Father Marquette. In *The Explorations of Père Marquette*, Jim Kjelgaard has captured the spirit of the times—the wild atmosphere, the devout consecration, the sense of high adventure—and presented it in a way which is understandable to children.

Mr. Kjelgaard follows the career of Father Marquette from the time he sets out from Quebec to begin his adventure as a missionary in the Great Lakes area until his death along the wild and lonely shore of Lake Michigan. From the beginning the author shows a keen sense of the dramatic and an ability to tell the story against a backdrop in tune with the times.

Almost any boy or girl living on one of our lakes, either large or small, would listen to or read intently the description of the birch bark canoe and the expert management of the tricky craft contained in the first chapter. In this same episode the author has skillfully woven in a lesson in conservation which affords an excellent opportunity for expansion by parent or teacher.

Using the story of the exploration of the Mississippi River by Père Marquette and his colorful companion, Louis Joliet, as a vehicle, the author presents a romantic picture of Indian life, of the character of the voyageurs, and of the experiences of the early missionaries. After completing the book one remembers not only the more spectacular events in the life of this famous missionary but the courage which he and his companion, Joliet, show, each in his own way. Nor does the reader

quickly forget the presentation of the actual every day experiences of missionary life, even though in a child's mind they may be secondary in importance to the more exciting adventures. As supplementary reading used in conjunction with a more factual presentation this volume would be most useful.

The elementary teacher who has wanted to teach Michigan history but has found all too few tools to assist him will be encouraged by *The Explorations of Père Marquette* by Jim Kjelgaard, as will the parent who is seeking leisure time reading material in the history field for his boy or girl.

Pontiac

ELIZABETH S. ADAMS

North of Saginaw Bay. By E. J. Petersen. (Sand Lake, Tall Timber Press. 1952. 241 p. \$3.00.)

E. J. Petersen, known to his friends as Pete Petersen, has written a book. He has given it the fitting title of *North of Saginaw Bay*.

Pete may be an amateur writer, but he is no amateur woodsman. His commas may not lie in the right spot, but his rollways do. The book will be valuable to all those who want the authentic atmosphere of the lumberwoods north of Saginaw Bay.

Pete's characters are mostly actual persons. Sometimes the actual name is used as in the case of Silver Jack. More often the name is fictional as Struthers, Old Tillie, Clay Woods. The Indians are as real as the white men.

If you want to become better acquainted with the lumberjack, get a copy of *North of Saginaw Bay* from the press at Sand Lake or from your bookstore.

Central Michigan College of Education

E. C. BECK

Classified Finding List of the Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1952, 265 p. \$4.00.)

The *Michigan Historical Collections* is, perhaps, the most useful single source of information on the history of Michigan. Although the forty volume series is indexed, it is difficult to bring these references together as they pertain to some given research topic. Moreover, one is never sure every possible useful reference has been found in the index. This classified guide seeks to remedy this situation, and thus it will be most useful to Michigan history students.

The finding list is divided into three chronological periods: 1600-1796, 1796-1861, 1861-1926. Within each of these major divisions references are organized under these headings: Official Papers; Personal Papers;

Reminiscences; Special Studies; Maps, Portraits, Illustrations and Miscellaneous; Biographical Sketches and Genealogies, with volume and page reference given for wherever information on the subject in question appears in the Collections. The last chronological period has an additional general heading, The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. An examination of this last heading will show how useful this finding list might become.

Should one start to search the *Collections* for information on the Pioneer and Historical Society, one would spend days combing the published index for references. Then more days would be needed to examine the unpublished index for volumes XXXI-XL. Here, in this finding list, are five pages of references grouped under specific sub-headings (which are arranged alphabetically under each general heading) which will direct the researcher to every reference in the forty volume series which tells something about the Pioneer and Historical Society.

While no attempt has been made to examine this guide from the standpoint of thoroughness of coverage, references on every tenth page were checked against the Collections for accuracy. No mistakes were found. Also of importance to those whose eyes are always tired, is the fact that the type is large, and with ample spacing.

This work was started as a WPA project, was transferred to the Historical Records Survey, and was sponsored by Wayne University which was represented by Joe L. Norris. When publication plans were given up in 1942 as a result of the war, the manuscript was given to Wayne University, and finally with the help of the Wayne University Press, the Historical Society of Michigan, the Detroit Historical Society, and Mr. Leonard Simons, researchers in Michigan history have a very useful guide at their disposal.

Michigan Historical Commission

VERNON BEAL

The Story of Van Raalte: A Man Strong and of Good Courage.
By Marian M. Schoolland. (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. Grand Rapids, 1951. 144 p. \$2.00.)

Miss Schoolland's biography of Dominie Albertus Christiaan Van Raalte, founder of the Dutch settlement in western Michigan, will please readers who want a brief account in popular style and not loaded with detail. Her book presents facts accurately and interestingly; and her point of view throughout, one of admiration for Van Raalte's character, is commendable.

This is not to say, however, that Miss Schoolland's biography is to be regarded as definitive. But none of her predecessors have produced final accounts of Van Raalte. The first attempt, in 1893, to present Van Raalte's life was made by the Rev. Henry E. Dosker, a person who knew Van Raalte intimately. His biography will ever be an indispensable book

for all who wish to study the intriguing history of Dutch settlement in western Michigan. J. A. Wormser's sketch, also in Dutch, published in 1915, presents some new information. The writer's point of view is that of a Netherlander whose father had been intimately associated with the events that induced Van Raalte to emigrate to America in the fall of 1846. Albert Hyma's account, which appeared in 1948, has the merit of being based upon data drawn from Van Raalte's personal papers. None of these biographies, valuable as they may be, can, however, be regarded as fully satisfactory, for much in the career of Van Raalte remains to be explored. Nor will the reviewer's *Netherlanders in America: Dutch Emigration to the United States and Canada, 1789 to 1950*, which is to be published in the near future by the University of Michigan Press, and which aims to recount the whole story of Dutch immigration, fill the need for a full biography of Van Raalte. Such a study would involve long research in the Netherlands and this country as well. Until such a biographical study appears we shall have to be content with Hyma's and Miss Schoolland's well presented accounts. Let us hope that someone soon will undertake the toilsome task of preparing a biography based upon exhaustive research in all aspects of Van Raalte's varied and busy life.

University of Washington

HENRY S. LUCAS

Charles Mears: Pioneer of the White Lake Area. By his daughter, Carrie Ellen Mears. (n.d., n.p., 69 p.)

Charles Mears (1814-95) and three brothers came to Paw Paw in 1836 and 1837 from Massachusetts by way of Buffalo and Chicago. For the next twenty-some years (the only period covered by this booklet) young Charles Mears engaged in pioneer exploration and business ventures along the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan, establishing locations in the White Lake area around Whitehall, and further north at Pentwater. He bought pine lands, built and outfitted several small saw-mills, purchased five or six sloops and schooners to transport his lumber to and provisions from Chicago, and, in general, was a capable, resourceful, and honorable pioneer merchant and business man.

Unfortunately it is difficult for the reader to get a clear, concise picture of the activities of Charles Mears, even for the limited period of 1836-59, because of the style employed, the weakness of organization, confusing chronology, and the tendency to accentuate details at the expense of the larger thread of the story. In fact the story does not emerge at all, except with the most painstaking reading. The author has not succeeded too well in digesting and interpreting the innumerable factual fragments drawn from Mears' daybooks, diaries, and account books in order to formulate an interesting and meaningful story. Good

transitions are often lacking or too abrupt. The habit of using numerous quotations taken out of context without sufficient explanation contributes to confusion of mind and a bit of frustration in reading.

Despite the aforementioned limitations, Carrie Ellen Mears has performed a genuine service to the accumulation of local history of Muskegon and Oceana counties. She has done much to preserve the pioneer accomplishments of her illustrious father in his early business career. She has drawn her material chiefly from the Mears papers in her own possession. Particularly valuable in these papers to the scholar are the records of the purchase and sale of goods and supplies and of prices.

Surprisingly little of a precise nature is recounted of Mr. Mears' business activities as a lumberman: extent of land ownership, output of mills over a period of years, records of shipment and sale of lumber in Chicago, and the big and little incidents pertaining to his operation of lumber camps in the pineries.

The booklet appears to be well lithoprinted in good-sized, readable type and carries seven good illustrations. There is no publisher nor date of publication indicated. Lack of an index is not so serious a limitation, although an index would be convenient.

Central Michigan College of Education

ROLLAND H. MAYBEE

Above-Below. By Curt G. Knoblock. (Norwood, Massachusetts, The Plimpton Press, 1952, 238 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

When the traveler has crossed the Straits from Mackinaw City to St. Ignace, he is in the land Above-Below. *ABOVE-BELOW* is the title of the book recently published by Plimpton Press, written and illustrated by Curt G. Knoblock.

Whoever persuaded Curt Knoblock to publish his "sketches and impressions" should be congratulated. Mr. Knoblock's stories will be appreciated by many readers besides those in his family or among his immediate acquaintances. The author from Detour knew many colorful characters. The very names are colorful: Beer Suds Joe, Stumpy Shaper, Captain Jim, Indian Pete, Grandma Kuski, Bullfrog Upton, Red Crawford. The social centers of Deep Harbor were Philo's, Jacques's, and Hugo's; these were the bars in the village.

The reader can learn several things at Hattie's boardinghouse, can learn conservation along with officer Chet Ollson, can cut the waves in Captain Jim's boat, or can sit out a difficult winter vigil with Steve Palmer.

Few will disagree with Mr. Knoblock when he says, "One could hardly write about a more interesting country than the land Above-Below."

Central Michigan College of Education

E. C. BECK

French Cooking in Old Detroit Since 1701. By Lucy and Sidney Corbett. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1951. 178 p. Illustrations and index. \$2.50.)

French Cooking in Old Detroit Since 1701 is not a cookbook in the ordinary sense. When we think of recipes for cooking we think of the big fat cookbook on our shelf with the 1,000 recipes in it. The Corbetts, on the other hand, have a unique book in several ways. Theirs reaches the point in a much more interesting way, and it brings to Michigan, in particular, a bit of its forgotten past which is well worth remembering, "la bonne cuisine française."

Before each new division, such as casserole or baking, there is a short historical approach which arouses a feeling of wanting to create by telling the origin of the dish and its specific use. One feels that this thing before him is an art as well as music or sculpture, and that this art of cooking has nothing whatsoever to do with the hustle-bustle can-cooking of America.

The Corbetts give more than a list of ingredients with their recipes. It is like Grandma telling you her favorite casserole dish when you attempt Chicken Marengo. Phrases such as "remove the cover occasionally and turn . . . with a wooden spoon"; "Meanwhile . . . brown them in the frying pan in which you originally did the chicken"; "taste for seasoning, you may want to add salt and pepper" appear throughout the recipe. This added information makes you feel at home with the dish and you are aware that someone who likes to cook has certainly prepared this before you.

Their recipes are generally well chosen, and vary greatly though, of course, are limited. But I feel their greatest fault, of which in most cases they may not be aware, is their lack of knowledge as to true French cooking. While admitting certain American dishes for a well-rounded cookbook, they have not admitted to certain things in what they maintain as true French recipes. Some of these have undoubtedly run into American customs which have changed the true French recipes to American-French, or old Detroit recipes as the Corbetts say.

Most of the desserts are American. Of course, there are the well-known crepes suzettes and baba au rhums, but out of sixteen pages few are true French. Throughout the book one finds these things which are typically American and are not often seen on French tables: bread stuffing, brown sugar or pineapple with ham, corn on the cob, or fruit salads such as Waldorf.

Being in France, associating with French people and, of course, being married to a Frenchman has helped me to recognize these American adaptations. Simply because these things are not from the French kitchen does not make them poor, it only makes them questionable, and generally not likable to Frenchmen. On one hand, some dislikes are

in such small things as size. Cold boiled ham is the ordinary thing, but a thick slab of ham for frying is not. Most people in America do not have a specific use for shell or elbow macaroni, noodles or spaghetti. In France this is not so. For the Frenchmen each has its place and he is displeased to find it otherwise.

Other dislikes are the placing of certain things together such as sweet things with meat (applesauce with pork, cranberries with turkey), placing cheese with pie or the wrong wine with the course being served; dry red wine is for beef, white dry for fish, and white sweet for dessert.

On the other hand some of the dislikes are simply due to strangeness and may disappear entirely after a Frenchman gets used to the new thing. Jello, peanut butter, popcorn, cottage cheese, and hot dogs are new things to the French. In some cases there is something similar, as there is to cottage cheese or hot dogs. In other cases nothing like it exists, such as peanut butter, popcorn, or corn on the cob.

In some respects these dislikes may sound picayune to us, but being good cooks and connoisseurs of good cooking is something that has been a practised art in France for centuries. Every Frenchman is proud of it. Whatever nationality we have and whatever we are noted for, I believe, each of us will agree that the French are the experts in the art of cooking. To eat French cooking is, indeed, a joy, perhaps alone, well worth a trip to France. But to those who have never been or have small hope of getting to France the Corbett's *French Cooking in Old Detroit Since 1701* is rather a nice trip through "la bonne cuisine français."

East Lansing

JANE PECKHAM JOYAUX

Ships That Never Die. Edited by Edward J. Dowling (Detroit Marine Historical Society, 1952. 48 p. Illustrations. \$1.25.)

Ships That Never Die, the first publication of the Marine Historical Society of Detroit, appeared in 1952. The 48 page booklet contains brief accounts of 45 well-known ships of the Great Lakes written by ten members of the Marine Historical Society. Each ship discussed is illustrated. The sketches included in *Ships That Never Die* were first published in the society's monthly journal, *The Detroit Marine Historian*.

The Marine Historical Society of Detroit is to be commended for the subject matter, appearance, and interest of its first publication. Founded in 1944, the society has increased the interest of many people in the Detroit area in the inspiring history and lore of Great Lakes ships and shipping. Much valuable information has been accumulated by the society. It is to be hoped that forthcoming publications will continue to appear in order that more of the extensive lore of the Great Lakes will be recorded in permanent form.

Michigan Historical Commission

HELEN EVERETT

Lumberjack. By William S. Crowe. (Privately multilithed, 1952. 118 p. Illustrations and index.)

Lumberjack, by Mr. William S. Crowe of Manistique, is a compilation of thirty-seven short articles that from time to time, beginning in the fall of 1947, appeared in the *Escanaba Daily Press*. This multilithed compilation has been produced in a very limited form and no attempt has been, or is being made, to market the booklets.

Mr. William S. Crowe, the author of these interesting articles, arrived in the sawmill town of Manistique exactly at midnight on May 19, 1893. He was then seventeen years of age and was a bookkeeper for the Chicago Lumbering Company of Michigan for the next seven years. At that time the lumber harvest of white pine was at its peak in the Upper Peninsula and millions of board feet of choice timber was being sent to the sawmills of that busy lumber port.

Mr. Crowe's experiences were closely associated with the sawing operations in the mills as well as with life in the lumber camps. This feature adds a new intrinsic value to his writings for even less seems to have been written about Michigan's sawmills and lumber towns than has been written about the life of the lumberjacks working in the woods. His position with the Chicago Lumbering Company, and his own later operations, gave him an impartial viewpoint from which to observe both the men who ran the company and the lumberjacks from the woods who worked in the mills during the summer months.

Lumberjack presents many of the every day happenings and ways of life of a typical small town people during the years of the lumbering days when they depended almost entirely upon sawmills to provide their means of livelihood. Mr. Crowe takes us back to the Manistique he knew as a young man and tells us about the sawmills, log booms, churches, Sunday School picnics, the Star Opera House, horses and buggies, tandem bicycles, and how people thought and felt at the turn of the century when the lumbering industry was still at its peak in Northern Michigan. People of all classes—the lumber barons, the lumberjacks, and the town people who worked in the mills—as well as happenings of that period, assume their true relationships for they are recalled by one who lived among them. They are talked about by one who knew these people well enough to call them by their first names and tell their family histories. This very primary nature of Mr. Crowe's material adds not only to its charm but also to its value as source material.

Mr. Crowe's series of short articles have a refreshing reality in their genuine sincerity. In these articles he tries to explain some of the facts and feelings of a period in Michigan's history that has now passed and also, at the same time, to debunk certain modern sensational writers for their unrealistic treatment of life in the lumber woods. To him it is a case of misinformation and in this I can readily concur for the jacks that

I knew found no greater delight than filling a greenhorn full of absurdities. Modern writers, looking for the sensational and not being familiar with the Paul Bunyan tactics of crafty story telling developed through long years on the deacon seat, could easily fall prey to the octogenarians that not only knew life in the woods but also the credulity of a generation not woods-wise.

Unfortunately for Michigan's historical record the lumbermen were not writers. In fact many of the lumberjacks could not write at all and signed their names with an X. Little of historic record has come from them except their log books and van accounts. For this reason Mr. Crowe's *Lumberjack* has a special importance. Not only is it interesting reading but such articles as his, penned by a man who actually knew the whine of the old head saw in the mill, will help much to give the historians of the future a better scale with which to measure one of Michigan's epochs. For this reason Mr. Crowe's work is not only a valuable addition to the history of Manistique but to the state as well. I hope it will be an inspiration to others to set down their memories of the days of falling pine and belt driven sawmills. Already too much of this story has passed beyond recall.

Henry Ford Community College

FERRIS E. LEWIS

From Greene Ville to Fallen Timbers: A Journal of the Wayne Campaign, July 28 to September 14, 1794. Edited by Dwight L. Smith. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1952. 94 p. Notes and index. \$1.00.)

In 1792, Major General Anthony Wayne was selected to accomplish a task which both Josiah Harmar and Arthur St. Clair had failed to do. Wayne succeeded in doing this in spite of the strained relations between himself and his first subordinate, Brigadier General James Wilkinson. This journal, by a man whose identity is unknown, is an unusually complete and detailed work concerning the grueling march by the expedition under Anthony Wayne from Greene Ville until its return to Fort Defiance after the decisive battle with the Indians at Fallen Timbers. The account follows the movements of the expedition which rendered the most complete and important victory ever gained over the Northwestern Indians during the forty years of warfare to which it put an end.

Dwight L. Smith, in his introduction, carefully analyzes the text of the journal and presents his views as to the source of the information. Dr. Smith states that the diary was written by an officer with a position of responsibility, possibly on the general staff, and definitely a pro-Wilkinson man. However, as one reads the journal and follows the excellent annotation, he realizes the possibility that the diary was a product of General Wilkinson himself.

The following entry for August 18, 1794, just two days before the famous battle, provides some insight into the element of suspense experienced as one reads the day-by-day account:

"The C in C (Anthony Wayne) informs that we are seven miles from the Camp of the Enemy and that the whole way is prairie and open wood Land—his health is better he begins to stand alone tho he cannot yet mount or dismount his horse without the aid of two strong men—we have now nine days complete allowance of flour for the troops, but we are on half allowance—God knows what will be the result—but certainly no army was ever brought wilfully into such desperate (sic) circumstances."

There is little doubt but that this is the most complete record of the Wayne campaign yet to be discovered, and the extensive entries contain a wealth of information and comments on such matters as; the relative positions of the dragoons, riflemen, spies, volunteers, baggage, sentinels, and officers on the march, in camp, and descriptions of the actual battle. Considerable comment is also made about the food, medical and quartermaster supply problems, the nature of the country over which the army moved, and descriptions of the forts. Personnel, matters of rank, chain of command, discipline, and clash of personalities are reported. The importance of morale is treated at some length. These and numerous other subjects are not only factually reported but also become topics of a running commentary by the journalist.

Tragedy, heroism, jealousy, fear, and apathy are elements lingering between the lines of the fascinating diary. An example, is the following reference about one of the lieutenants left in command of Fort Adams with only forty men—all invalids and cripples:

"His situation is such to excite the sympathy of those who feel—Should the enemy reconnoitre our abandoned Camp in the course of the Day (than which nothing is more common) Underhill and his party must be sacrificed . . . this officer is so sensible of his forlorn situation, that he expressed in despair . . . a wish that the Indians would immediately come and tomahawk himself and his detachment, to prevent him from cutting his own throat. . . ."

Numerous references, such as the following, illustrate the great contempt the writer held for Wayne, and indicate he was a very close associate of Wilkinson's, if not Wilkinson himself:

"The Old man unfortunately cannot consent to divide the smallest portion of reputation with any officer; he is therefore unwilling to make respectable detachments or to suffer any officer of Rank to precede him at any point of his march—to be first every where, even at an Indian Cabbin, Corn-Crib or Vine-patch, he deems essential to the glory of the Commander in Chief. . . ."

The journal, the excellent annotation and the introduction by Dr. Smith will prove a welcome source of information to students of Indian,

military and Old Northwest history. It should also have a great appeal for anyone interested in the latest account of one of the most important single incidents during this historic period.

Dearborn Historical Museum

ROBERT F. BAUMAN

The Apostle Islands: A Brief Resume of their History, Including Maps and Condensed Descriptions of the Individual Islands.
By Hamilton N. Ross. (Batavia, Illinois, Batavia Herald Company, 1951. 24 p. Maps. \$1.00.)

Superior was the second of the Great Lakes discovered by white men and the Apostle Islands on its southern shore were among the earliest landmarks on the lake to become familiar to early travelers. In this 24-page booklet the author—who for over fifty years has spent his vacations on the largest of the islands that dot the entrance to Chequamegon Bay—outlines the history of the region through three centuries of exploration, missionary effort, fur trade, and settlement. Nine small maps identify points of historic interest around the village of La Pointe, and twenty-three brief essays supply information on the origin of names and other interesting data on islands in the group. Both the casual summer visitor and the serious student of the past will be pleased with this brief and reliable guide to one of the most historic areas on the Upper Lakes.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

ALICE E. SMITH

Three Hundred Years American. By Alice F. and Bettina Jackson.
(Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951. ix, 368 p.
Illustrations, 7 genealogical charts, index. \$4.00.)

If you would like to see *Three Hundred Years American*, when next you visit Michigan State Library, you'll find it, with top billing, on the new book shelf in local and family history.

On second thought, perhaps you won't find it there. For I can think of quite a number of our good family history friends in Michigan to whom we will want to send this "epic of a family from seventeenth-century New England to twentieth century-midwest." There will be a little reminder enclosed, of course. This reminder will point out that Michigan will be greatly enriched if they will try *their* hand at writing a family history in this narrative pattern—a pattern which will at the same time add a stirring chapter to the history of Michigan.

Three Hundred Years American is not fiction. It is narrative local and family history. It is the story of a pioneer Wisconsin family—Dr. Joseph and Sarah Jackson Hobbins, who came from England to Wisconsin in

1854, their ancestors (among whom were New England settlers two generations earlier), and their children—who helped weld Wisconsin from wilderness to a great midwest state.

The story, throughout, is inseparable from its contemporary historical background; its theme: the struggle of an American family through several centuries in its quest of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

One of the first on my list to receive *Three Hundred Years American* will be Jane Hagle of Kalamazoo. Like the Jackson sisters, Mrs. Hagle is one of those richly fortunate midwesterners blessed with a remarkable collection of family letters, diaries, pictures and notebooks—used expertly by the Jacksons to make their Hobbins-Jackson history a vivid and colorful part of the social flow. Like the Jacksons, too, Mrs. Hagle is not stirred by family trees adorned only with names, dates and places. She can get mightily interested in discovering the personalities, motives and movements of her Grandfather Stoddard's family, and of the family's friends along the plank road in Cooper Township, Kalamazoo County.

There are many others besides my good friend, Jane Hagle, who, when they get around to trying their hand in so using the private history of their old trunks and attic, will bring gleaming life and color to Michigan local and family history. As Allan Nevins has said, "The most difficult part of history to obtain is the record of how plain men and women lived, and how they were affected by the economic, social, and cultural changes of their times; the most fascinating part of history is this same record."¹

Never a week passes but that we learn of these private treasures from our visitors to the State Library. I think just now of Mrs. John Sherwood of Howell who recently brought in a priceless little book (a hundred years in her family), the first record of the Baptist Church in Farmington, Michigan Territory, beginning in 1826. Her ancestor, the Reverend Caleb A. Lamb, was the first minister.

We need to encourage our family history friends to use their treasures in creative writing. When they do, I hope we in Michigan will find a way, as has Wisconsin, to publish them. *Three Hundred Years American* fits right into the pattern of the American History Research Center, announced recently by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin:

"The purpose of our Center's new grant-in-aid program is to stimulate and encourage thorough research and competent writing in localized American history. . . . Individuals make localized history, the same individuals who have been relegated to the status of a statistic in the generalizations and syntheses of national and international history. Our sort of economy and society is dependent on such individuals. To ignore

¹Reported in *News and Notes*, 2:5 (Vermont Historical Society, August, 1951).

their role and their importance is to pervert our history and misinterpret our heritage."²

The appeal of family history as a hobby lies in precisely this rich dividend which the Wisconsin society and the Jackson sisters are featuring: of seeing the life and times of one's town or region in the activities and movements of a particular family.

As I have worked with the many Michigan visitors who use our great collection of local and family history and with those who write to us from practically every state about Michigan families, I have gathered many evidences of this dividend. One statement which I like especially, I would like to share in closing. It is a paragraph from a discussion of "Family History" by Dr. Frank E. Robbins, assistant to the president of the University of Michigan, in a hobby series produced by the University of Michigan Broadcasting Service:

"You may find governors and clergymen and titled nobility in your family tree, but the chances are that your ancestors, like mine, were for the most part hard working, reasonably respectable farmers and if you find that a coat-of-arms is attached to your name, you probably cannot prove your right to use it under the rules that apply to such things.

"What you will find and what to my mind is a far more worthy ground for family pride, is that you had for ancestors men and women who had the courage to take a chance, to leave the comfortable old country and perch on the inhospitable shores of a new one, to make a home and a competence by the sweat of their brow and to push ever farther into the wilderness. In short, I think you will find yourself a more patriotic American, in the best sense of the word, the further you inquire into the early history not through the eyes of historians but in terms of the individual experiences of those who built up this country from very meager beginnings."

Michigan State Library

ESTHER W. LOUGHIN

The Importance of Being in Earnest. By Raymond C. Miller, Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1951. 24 p. \$50.)

There is more meat in this sixteen-page pamphlet than will be found in a great many full-length books. That is not to say that it is heavy reading. Quite the contrary. Professor Miller writes with a deft touch, and this reprint of an address of his before the Detroit Historical Society in 1950 (the second annual Lewis Cass lecture) is proof that it is not necessary to be dull or obtuse in order to be profound.

Professor Miller observes that history is not what has happened but what we think has happened. "History is in the mind," as the author puts it. All of us take facts, more or less perfectly established, and

²*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 35:247 (Summer, 1952).

organize them into something meaningful. Thus we are all historians, whether or not we know it. The professional historian is simply a person who has acquired special skills in establishing fact and giving fact meaning.

Another point made by the author is that one may discover in the history of a city the story of man in society, "the story of difficulties met, of problems solved, of obstacles overcome." And we can best learn how a society operates by understanding our own local community. The author reminds us, however, that such understanding cannot be attained by reading the newspapers, or by obtaining casual impressions. We can truly understand what is only by understanding how it came to be.

Towards the close of his address, Professor Miller applies these principles to the problem of gaining a genuine understanding of our American way. Catch-phrases, propaganda, and exhortation are not the methods which will give us a sound basis for making decisions. The author believes the best way to bring about a better understanding of our "system" is to get the facts and then to effectively present them to the public. He urges industrial concerns to utilize the knowledge and skill of the professional historian to "get the truth" about them by studying and relating the story of their growth and development.

Business and industrial leaders, who have been spending so much money in recent years to "sell" the American free enterprise system, might well ponder the words of Professor Miller. How effective are the platitudes, the smart phrases, and the high-pressure advertising techniques that have been employed, in convincing the American people that all is well with American business? We learn from concrete experiences, from specific examples, much better than from abstractions and generalizations. Tell the people the story of the industries which have built their community, tell the story accurately, truthfully, and interestingly, and you will do more convincing than could be done with a thousand "public relations" releases. In almost every business can be found the worth of ideas, the importance of a free economy in the development of those ideas, the reward of hard work, the use of business profits to make possible expansion and to create more jobs—all those lessons which American industry and business have tried in vain to teach by means of clever catch-phrases and generalizations.

Professor Miller calls attention to a field where the historian can usefully employ his talents. The author himself is now engaged in preparing a history of the Detroit Edison Company. A few other business and industrial concerns in the state have retained historians to compile their histories. But hardly more than a beginning has been made. There is good reason to believe that many more will follow their example. Here is a challenging opportunity to every professional historian now engaged in some other kind of research and writing activity.

Western Michigan College of Education

WILLIS F. DUNBAR

Contributors

Ronald Shaw is an instructor in history at Wayne University. He completed his undergraduate work at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota. The article on the Erie Canal is based upon his research for a doctoral dissertation on the social and economic aspects of the history of the canal.

Howell Taylor is a registered architect with a wide experience and training. He spent the years 1933-39 in Beirut, Syria, practicing his profession and in travel in Europe and the Middle East. He has been of great assistance to the Historical Society of Michigan as a member of its committee on the preservation of historical sites and buildings.

Philip P. Mason is a teaching fellow in the history department of the University of Michigan and also has been working at the Michigan Historical Collections as a cataloger of manuscripts. It was here that he became interested in the diary of Elisha Loomis. Mr. Mason has an A. B. degree from Boston University and an M. A. degree from the University of Michigan.

Dr. Georges J. Joyaux appeared as a contributor to *Michigan History* in the September 1952 issue with his bibliography of the French press in Michigan. His deep interest in the relationship between the French and Michigan history is evidenced by the recovery and translation of this early French work.

George S. May this past year has been an assistant in research at the Michigan Historical Collections. He is also continuing his doctoral work in history at the university. For the academic year 1952-1953 he is the recipient of an Orla B. Taylor Fellowship in history at the University of Michigan.

Wilbur Lyle Eberhart has been a library assistant in the Burton Historical Collection since June, 1952. After graduate work in American history and in library science at the University of Wisconsin, he joined the staff of the Detroit Public Library as a branch library assistant in 1951.

Dr. Alfred H. Whittaker although a native of Ohio has developed a deep interest in the history of Michigan and the Northwest. He has served as trustee and president of the Detroit Historical Society, trustee of the Historical Society of Michigan, and as chairman of that society's committee which produced the illustrated map, "Historic Michigan."

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues are \$3.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in October, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.